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I copied the Letter of Mr. Brackenridge to Louis Phillipe from the original in the possession of Carey & Hart, before it was sent, with the presentation Copy, to France — and added the autograph signature.

See the various matter added to my Copy of the edition of 1819, Pittsburg.

Modern Chivalry

The following interesting correspondence has been anded to us by our friend, Judge Brackenridge, son f the author of Modern Chivalry. It is an answer f the celebrated sage of Quincy, in answer to one rom Col. McCandless, of this city. It is gratifying o us, that the "old man Eloquent," in this sprightly etter, proves, that although his frame may be enfeebled by age. his intellect is as vigorous as ever. We have already spoken of Modern Chivalry, now for sale by Cook. The present two volumes, with illustrations by Darley, constitute the *first part* of the work. The second part, published ten years after the first, like the great work of Cervantes, we are informed, will appear as soon as the suitable illustrations can be had.

PITTSBURGH. March 29th. 1847.

Hon. John Quincy Adams, Washington City. (D. C.)

Dear Sir:—A day or two after I had the honor of addressing you, at the instance of the citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, I met you at the hospitable house of Col. Robinson. To me, and to all around, the conversation was most entertaining. All the leading incidents connected with the history of Western Pennsylvania, from the whiskey insurrection down, seemed to be as familiar to you as to any native "to the manor born." I reccollect well your inquiry relative to the honored wisdom of the author of "Modern Chivalry," and how animated you were in speaking of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan.

Cervantes would have laughed and rejoiced at your association of these Western heroes with his own, and the author felt complimented with your favorable criticism of a work which he never expected to reach a second edition.

Perusing a reprint of the work this evening, it occurred to me, that you might be amused in reading it, and I have taken the liberty of enclosing it.—Trusting that your health is much improved, and that will continue so.

I have the honor to be with the most profound regard, your obedient servant.

WILSON McCANDLESS.

WASHINGTON, 1st April, 1847.

Wilson McCandless, Esq., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sir: I cannot lose a moment, before acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., and of the valuable present which accompanied it. The volumes of the new edition of Judge H. H. Brackenridge's Modern Chivalry, or the adventures of Cap. Farrago and O'Regan. My visit to Pittsburgh in 1843, and my intercourse with yourself, with the citizens of that place, and Allegheny, at the time, afford me some of the most pleasing recollections of my life. grateful recollections of my obligations to yourself and them. I had read the first part of Modern Chivalry, and formed a pleasant acquaintance with Captain Farrago and his man Teague, at their first appearance, more than half a century since, and had then excited much of my attention, as illustrations of life and manners peculiar to the times, the localities, not entirely effaced, when I became more familiarly acquainted with them, by this visit to the latter. Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan, are legitimate descendants on one side, from the Knight of La Mancha and his Squire Sancho, on the other, from Sir Hudibrass, and his man Ralpho, and if not primitive conceptions, themselves, are at least as lineal, in their descent, as the pious Æneas, from the impetuous and vindictive son of Pileas. The reappearance of this work, as a second edition since the author's death, more than half a century after its first publication, well warrants a prediction, that it will last beyond the period fixed by the ancient statutes, for the canonization of poets, a full century. I shall read it over again, I have no doubt, with a refreshing revival, of the pleasures with which I perused it on its first appearance. And if this expression of my opinion, can give any satisfaction to the remaining relatives of Judge Brackenridge, or to yourself, it is entirely at your disposal; being with a vivid sense, and grateful remembrance, of your kindness and that of my fellow-citizens of Pittsburgh and Allegheny.

Your friend and obedient servant.

J. Q. ADAMS

Modern Chivalry, or the Adventures of Capt. Farrago and Teague O'Regan, by H. H. Brackenridge. Second edition since the Author's death, with a Biographical notice, &c. Designs by Darley. Carey & Hart.—The flimsiest works of English and French origin find publishers, readers and admirers in a community that has suffered a quarter of a century to pass without calling for a new edition of one of the best original works ever produced in America. The late Judge Brackenridge had the keenest perception of the ridiculous, and with it a philosophical turn of mind, which used all means as the aids of effect. Like Goldsmith, the persons about him, and the events he was conversant with, afforded the materials of his literary productions. It is well known to individuals still living, that a near neighbor of the Judge's when he was a schoolmaster in Somerset County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, was the original from whom Teague O'Regan was drawn—the name was not exactly the same, but of the identity there is no doubt. We know very well that many believe the name to be one of the Judge's manufacture; but it is a well known historical appellation. Sir Teague O'Regan was a celebrated Irish officer, who after the Battle of the Boyne, called upon the English and Dutch to "change Generals" with his countrymen and their French allies, and to fight the battle over again. It is needless to say, that such a personage must have been a genuine Milesian, and after the author's own heart, in some respects, for the Judge had a great contempt for *useless* fighting. He was a man of great personal courage, of which he thought a duel the most equivocal test, and exhibited his opinion in the most *open* and undisguised manner, as the following publication which he inserted in the Pittsburgh Gazette shows—

"Mr. Scull—The age of Chivalry is not over; and challenges have been given even in the midst of a yellow fever which, one would think, was killing people fast enough already. The *fear of God or the law*, are usual and just grounds of refusing. But I will give you a sample of the way in which I get off with some of my challenges, in the following letter and answer on a late occasion; but omitting the name of the challenger, as I have no inclination to trouble him with a vocation.

PITTSBURGH, October 15, 1797.

Sir—I will thank you to take a walk with a friend and meet me at the back of the graveyard about sunrise to-morrow morning. After what has happened, you know what I mean.

Your humble servant, &c.

H. H. Brackenridge, Esq.

PITTSBURGH, October 15, 179[illegible]

Sir—I know what you mean very well; you want to have a shot at me, but I have no inclination to be hit, and I am afraid you will hit me. "Ipray thee therefore have me excused."

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE."

This is the transaction from which the challenge of Major Jacks to Captain Farrago, and the latter's answer, have been elaborated at the commencement of the first volume. The designs by Darley are above all praise.

H. D. F.

CAPTAIN FARRAGO AND TEAGUE O'REGAN.

MODERN CHIVALRY:

OR THE

ADVENTURES OF CAPT. FARRAGO AND TEAGUE O'REGAN,

The Captain's manner of treating the bearer of a challenge.

PHILADELPHIA: CAREY & HART.

1846.

MODERN CHIVALRY,

OR THE

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN FARRAGO

AND

TEAGUE O'REGAN.

BY

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

Quidquid agunt homines——
Farrago. Juv.

Ridentum dicere verum quid vetat?—Horace.

"Man's averse to all the truth he hears."—Creech.

SECOND EDITION SINCE THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

WITH

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE, A CRITICAL DISQUISITION ON THE WORK, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS BY DARLEY.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1846.

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To his Majesty
The King of the French

Sire,

Fifty years ago I saw your Majesty at my father's house in Pittsburgh, with your Majesty's estimable brothers. The recollection is as distinct as if it were yesterday. How wonderful seem to me the ways of God, when I contrast the modest, wise young man in exile with the greatest Sovereign in the World! I have read that your Majesty some times speaks of the author of "Modern Chivalry" — will your Majesty be pleased to accept a copy of that work as a to-

-ken of remembrance from his son.

I have requested my friend Robert Walsh Esq. to do me the favor to present this little token to your Majesty.

I am, Your Majesty's
Most obt. Servant
H. W. Bracken
J. R.

Pittsburgh, April
22d. 1846.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE author of the celebrated production now, in part, presented to the public, in this edition, was a profound philosopher, a learned scholar of vast literary acquirement, as well as knowledge of the world and of human nature. He was possessed of a keen wit, which cut like a blade of Damascus; was eloquent as a speaker, and at the same time wrote with the ease, and elegance, of a master of the English language. He has had no equal in this country, in the versatility and originality of genius. But that which claims a higher praise, he was an honest man, a patriot sincerely attached to his country and its democratic institutions. An enlightened democracy was looked upon by him as the true nobility. He considered the true democrat as the true gentleman, who *ought* to feel a stain on his fair reputation, "as a wound." He maintained "that, democracy is not in its nature coarse, and vulgar, or destitute of high integrity and honour." The aim and end of his writings was to raise the standard of democracy, and to elevate "the noble of nature" to the same level with any other noble, in those qualities which constitute true nobility. The noble of nature, in his opinion, ought not to yield to the noble of aristocracy or monarchy in strict integrity, in liberal and benevolent feelings, in propriety of manners, and general intelligence.

We have here, then, the key to this curious work. The author's intention, in adopting this form, was to find a more ready access to the minds of the people, which could not be

so effectually accomplished by dry and grave essays on government, addressed to scholars and statesmen. The people themselves, as the great fountain of power, were to be instructed and indoctrinated in the true principles of liberty. Truths, that might not otherwise have been relished, are disguised by wit and pleasantry, so that the reader is reproved while unconsciously laughing at his own folly. The method of Swift, Cervantes, or Butler, seemed to him better adapted to this end, than the dry and formal dissertations of Montesquieu, or the profound disquisitions of the political philosophers who have sprung up, indigenous to the soil of freedom. He believed that a popular work like the present, was the best means of diffusing correct ideas of government over the widest space, as it would be read by the million, at first, for the sake of amusement, and afterwards as a study. His aim was the reverse of that of the author of Hudibras, which was to throw a ridicule on democracy itself. In laughing at the follies and absurdities of democracy, he only endeavoured to eradicate the weeds which are the natural growth of a fruitful soil, in order that the valuable plants might flourish: thus,

> "By wit's strong flashes, reason's light dispense,
> And lash a frantic nation into sense.

For it will be seen in every page, that he was the enemy of despotic, arbitrary power in every form, and especially in that of hereditary rule. He was in fact a true democrat; that is, a lover of that freedom which is secured by free institutions and equal laws. At the same time, as a necessary consequence, he regarded individual merit as entitled to its just reward. He wished to see it preferred to adventitious, or accidental advantages, without merit, and this, whether arising from the chances of birth and fortune, or the corrupting arts of the demagogue. At the same time, he scouted

that visionary absurd equality of talents, fortunes, conditions, which can have no real existence in any state of society. According to him, virtue should be always preferred to vice; knowledge to ignorance, the faithful and competent, to the unprincipled and incompetent; according to the principle of Jefferson, "is he capable, is he honest?" He was equally an enemy to the aspiring, selfish, ambitious man, and to the base and grovelling demagogue—the courtier of the democracy.

The satire, it must be admitted, is sometimes excessive, when it deals with the folly, presumption, extravagance, or dishonesty, which too often shows itself amid the rank growth of popular liberty. Many of those things which he merely imagined as caricatures, have in our times become amazing realities; witness the world's convention of agrarians, communists, atheists, disorganizers, proposing to overturn church, state, constitution, right of property, religion, education, and all the wise institutions among men, which experience has created or sanctioned. He wrote for the people, that is, for the sound and healthy portion of society, not for the incurably diseased, and does not fear to lay the scourge with severity on the ignorant multitude or populace, the *mobile vulgus*, constantly bent on the deracination of institutions, and which, in his opinion, ought not to exist among our free and presumed enlightened population. He defined our government to be, "a democracy founded on the *experiment* of representation," and this experiment again depending on the success of the principle of universal suffrage, which must be a fallacy in practice, unless the people are virtuous and enlightened. The author's philosophic vision penetrated far into futurity, which is proved by the fact, that it has required a half a century, from the publication of his work, to show the application of many of his satires.

Modern Chivalry, is a thoroughly American work; its scenes, characters, incidents, all spring from the soil with a raciness unequalled by any other American production, at least previous to its appearance. If Don Quixotte could only have been written by a Spaniard, the adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague O'Regan could only have been written by an American.

In order to form a just estimate of the nature of this work, it is necessary in the first place to bear in mind that the author was in heart a lover of democratic institutions, such as exist in our state and general governments, which, in his opinion, surpassed all other forms in what is calculated to render a people happy, and at the same time to ennoble human nature. But among an ignorant and corrupt people, such a government must be a mere idle form—a faithless illusion; for power will inevitably, under such circumstances, fall into the hands of the few instead of being exercised by the many. The great antagonist evil to this principle, is, therefore, the want of intelligence among the people. It is, then, against ignorance, and the presumption and arrogance of ignorance, that the satire is directed with terrible effect. This evil, considering the advantages of education afforded in this country, (and the high and important duties cast upon every constituent, by the sovereignty, of which he is a part,) was regarded by him not merely as a misfortune, *but as a crime.* He conceived that it was in the power of every one, without neglecting his ordinary duties or occupations, to obtain a sufficient education to enable him to judge, directly or indirectly, of measures and men, in the republic. His own experience and observation satisfied him that no one ought to complain of the want of opportunities for improvement, if he desires to use them. Next to an enlightened constituency, the *purity of the elective franchise* is regarded as vital to the success of representative democracy

"The purity of elections," he eloquently says, "is the bud at which free representative government breaks forth; and when blighted by the frost of fraud, it will bear no fruit of liberty."

In every page of this work, the reader is astonished at the depth and variety of sound maxims and sayings, concealed under the guise of pleasantry. The demagogue, as we have seen, he regarded as the courtier of the democracy; and, like other courtiers, he flatters the sovereign, for the purpose of accomplishing his selfish ends. The sovereign people, like other sovereigns, is unwilling to hear unpalatable truths, at least from one who assumes the character of a teacher, which implies superiority; it therefore becomes necessary, sometimes, to play the court fool, as in monarchies; a part which, according to the old saying, takes a wise man to perform. It is thus that extremes approximate. The great philosophic statesman of Italy, Machiavel, was obliged to disguise his satire against monarchy by a pretended panegyric, the drift of which was not discovered until long after his death. Our author, in a country of unbounded liberty, the source of so many virtues, but too often running into licentiousness, endeavours to correct its vices and extravagancies, in this indirect, but not less effective manner. If it be alleged, that the faults of democracy are handled with such severity, as to occasion doubts of the author's sincerity, it may be answered, that in his whole life, and on all occasions which called forth an expression of his opinions, he declared his democratic predilections. He always acted with the democratic party, supporting Jefferson, Madison, and M'Kean, but not as a blind follower, or approver of everything said or done by political leaders. He openly condemned the repeal of the United States Judiciary, chiefly effected by his relative, John Brackenridge of Kentucky, and differed from Mr. Jefferson

on the subject of the navy, and the power of the general government in its liberal exercise, in relation to objects of a national character.

As a literary production, "The Adventures of Captain Farrago and Teague," has great merit. It has become a part of American literature, as much as Don Quixotte of the literature of Spain. A thousand original expressions, thoughts, and allusions derived from it, are in daily use, forming a surprising proportion of the national stock of ideas, and of which few readers are aware; to prove the truth of this remark, the reader need only bear it in mind as he reads the book. It has become proverbial to call a forward, ignorant pretender to office, for which he is unqualified, a Teague O'Regan! A proof of the author's success in his design, is the fact, that the work is chiefly confined to reading mechanics, farmers and others, while it is comparatively rare to find it in the hands of the *literati*. It is best known in the western states, where it first appeared. It is believed to be entirely unknown in Europe,* and has never been noticed by any Review. The author used to relate an incident which occurred to him at a place where he was detained a day, in consequence of having missed the stage, and feeling *ennui*, asked the landlord whether he had any thing amusing to read. "That I have," said he, at the same time opening a little desk in his bar, and producing a torn volume of "Modern Chivalry." "There," said he, "is something will make you laugh; and the man that wrote it was no fool neither." When the author's descendants or relatives happen to be travelling, the first question almost invariably asked of them is, "Are you related to the

* The author of this saw, not long since, in an American paper, Captain Farrago's answer to the challenge, "as the answer of a British officer!"

author of Modern Chivalry?" One of them, having landed on the Mississippi, with the intention of going to St. Louis, a distance of two hundred miles by land, on making inquiries for some mode of conveyance, was addressed by a stranger in these words: "I understand, sir, your name is Brackenridge. Are you related to the author of Modern Chivalry?" And on being answered in the affirmative, immediately offered his horse, telling him to keep him until an opportunity should offer of returning him!—A decided proof of the popularity of the work, is the immediate disappearance of every edition hitherto published, and the constant demand for it at the book stores. It is at this time almost impossible to procure a copy, excepting in public libraries. The only one in circulation, is an abridged, or rather mutilated edition of the first part, in one volume, which gives about as much of the original as the ingenious abridgments of Don Quixotte and Gil Blas. There is no doubt that many thousand copies could be disposed of in a short time, if published with the typographical improvements, and got up in the manner proposed in the present edition—the second since the author's death.

It is now about half a century since the publication of the first part, (now republished,) in a small village west of the Allegheny mountains, where the author was then a practising lawyer. Like the second part of Don Quixotte, the second volume appeared after an interval of about ten years; but the whole work has never been got up in a manner to give it currency among the higher classes of readers, and that is one of the reasons, why it has not been justly appreciated. Another reason for this want of circulation, was the supposed coarseness of some passages after the manner of Smollet or Fielding, and also the erroneous idea, that it contained some obscure local or personal allusions. Some slight corrections, or softening of expressions, where it was

not considered polite "to call a spade, a spade," have been made; headings of chapters have been added, with occasional notes, which will furnish a sufficient key to what was thought obscure, and which the events of the last half century, have not served to explain. An index was thought of, to show the wonderful variety of topics touched upon, and often with a pen of light, exhibiting a thousand things to the thinking mind, but not expressed. In the second part,* the story, and characters, are merely retained as the frame work, to contain this vast treasury of ideas on so many subjects; the greater part, however, political. Although not so entertaining as the first, or so rich in incident and humour, it is more profoundly philosophic, and more direct in its appeals to the people, for whom it was written. The style is every where of that transparent kind, which presents the idea almost naked to the mind, frequently producing the illusion in the reader, that he is only pursuing a train of thought of his own.

This production, as already observed, properly belongs to the age of Fielding and Smollet; the author of the Waverly novels, and his numerous imitators, not having yet appeared when it was written. The public taste has greatly improved since their day; whether public morals are any better, is another question. If it be regarded as an imitation of Don Quixotte, it is, to say the least, a more happy one, than Sir Launcelot Greaves, or even Hudibras. The first, is a character which outrages all probability, and excites neither interest nor causes mirth; while Timothy Crabshaw, the squire, or rather clown to Sir Launcelot, is a poor imitation of Hudibras. On the contrary, this hero of

* The present publication contains only the *first* part—the *second*, may perhaps appear at some future period. The *first* exhibits the presumption and folly of the individual—the *second* of the people or sovereigns themselves.

Butler's witty performance, ought to have played the clown, Ralfo being much the more dignified personage; while Sir Hudibras himself, with his two protuberances, is but a refacimiento of the great original, Punchinello. Captain Farrago, is merely an eccentric, but possessing the wisdom, virtue, sentiment, and native nobility, which command respect in Don Quixotte, notwithstanding his monomania. The sound part of the Don's mind, represents some of the finest traits of the Spanish character. Farrago, a *native American*, in like manner, exhibits some of the finest traits of character formed under our institutions. The *clown* to the principle personage, is an ignorant Irish bog-trotter, bought out of a ship of redemptioners, or persons sold for a term of years to pay for their passage. Teague, is forward, blundering, and continually thrusting himself into places for which he is in a ludicrous manner unfitted. The conception of this character, is second only to that of Sancho, the immortal creation of Cervantes. Some have absurdly supposed, that a burlesque on the Irish people was intended by introducing this Thady, or Milesian, when nothing was further from the intention of the author. It might as well be said, that Sancho was meant as a burlesque on the Spanish nation! In some cases, offence will be taken, however unreasonable. It is said, that to this day, the inhabitants of La Mancha, take fire at the very names of Don Quixotte and Sancho Panza. The author declares that he would have chosen an American clown, if he could have found one that had the stuff in him! Even on the Dublin stage, the Teague, or Darby, is a standing character for fun and laughter. Perhaps the burlesque of Teague, is rather too broad, and goes beyond the limit of caricature, which is truth exaggerated. The object of the author, which was to make the reader laugh, is, however, successfully accomplished. The clown who takes the place of Teague, viz. Duncan Ferguson, the Scotchman, is

more true to nature; in fact, this character is so perfect in its kind, that if Modern Chivalry had been known to Walter Scott, one might be tempted to say, that it had furnished him a hint for Andrew Fairservice. We now consign the work to the judgment of the reader, confident that although slow in taking its proper place in the literary commonwealth, the time has at length arrived for this purpose. It required fifty years to show the application of the author's satires; many of the things which he only imagined, having become history. We do not hesitate to say, that the time will come, *when it will be placed among the master-pieces of human genius.*

THE

AUTHOR'S ADDRESS TO THE READER.

It has been a question, what would be the best means of fixing the English language? Some have thought of Dictionaries, others of Institutes; and Swift proposed, in his letters to the Earl of Oxford, the forming an academy of men of letters for this purpose, similar to that of France. Reflecting on the subject, it appeared to me that if some work were undertaken with a view to style, regarding thought as of secondary importance, it might do more to effect so desirable an end, than can be accomplished by all the dictionaries and institutes, that were ever made.

Following up this idea, without waiting for some one more competent to undertake the work, I here present the reader with a production in which style, language, and forms of expression, are more regarded than matter; as the unmeaning words *fa*, *sol*, *la*, are used in teaching the science of music. After becoming, in this way, master of musical tune and sound, these may be "married to immortal verse." It is scarcely in the power of human ingenuity, to do more than one thing well at a time. They mistake greatly, who think to have a clock, that can at once tell the hour of the day, the age of the moon, and the day of the week, month, or year; because the complexness of the machine hinders that perfection which the simplicity of the works and movements can alone give. For it is not in nature to have all things in one. If you are about to choose a wife, and

expect beauty, you must give up family and fortune; or if you attain these, you must at least want good temper, health, or some other advantage; so, to expect good language, and good sense at the same time, is absurd, and not in the compass of common nature to produce. Attempting only one thing, therefore, we may entertain the idea of hitting the point of perfection. Culling out the choicest flowers of diction, then, I shall pay little regard to the idea, as it is not in the power of human ingenuity to attain two things perfectly at once. It has been owing to an inattention to this principle, that so many fail in their attempts at good writing. A Jack of all trades, is proverbial of a bungler; and we scarcely ever find one who excels in two parts of the same arts; much less in two arts at the same time. The smooth poet wants strength; the orator of a good voice, is destitute of logical reason and argument. How many have I heard speak, who, were they to attempt voice only, might be respectable; but undertaking, at the same time, to carry sense along with them, they utterly failed, and became contemptible. One thing at once, is the best maxim that ever came into the mind of man. This might be illustrated by a thousand examples; but I shall not trouble myself with any; as it is not so much my object to convince others, as to show the motives by which I myself am governed. Indeed I could give authority superior to all example, viz., that of the poet Horace; who, speaking on this very subject of excellence in writing, says, *Quidvis*, that is, whatever you compose, let it be, *simplex*, *duntaxit et unum*: that is, simple, and one thing only.

It will be needless for me to say any thing about the critics; for as this work is intended as a model of good writing, it cannot be the subject of criticism. It is true, Homer has been criticised by a Zoilus and an Aristotle; but the one contented himself with pointing out defects;

the other beauties. But Zoilus has been censured, Aristotle praised; because, in a model, there can be no defect; error consisting in a deviation from the truth; and faults, in an aberration from the original of beauty; so that where there are no faults, there can be no food for criticism, taken in the unfavourable sense of finding fault with the productions of an author. I have no objection, therefore, to any praise that may be given to this work; but to censure, or blame, must appear absurd; because it cannot be doubted that it will perfectly answer the end proposed.*

Notwithstanding this candid explanation of the author's design in this work, there will be ingenious readers, who will fancy, that they can discover in it distinct ideas and meaning; just as we distinguish forms in the embers of a fire, or on the accidental scratches on a wall. All that can be said in this case, is, that if the reader finds amusement in tracing such resemblances, let him enjoy it. Others may say, that in spite of the disclaimer just made, they can plainly discover much sound and wholesome doctrine in this book; if so, let them prize the more the treasure so unexpectedly found. Many will, perhaps, turn up their noses, and throw the book away with contempt; saying, "of what use is all this—a book without ideas, or only such as have no other effect than to cause a laugh!" And does he accomplish nothing who can do this? What is there which so much conduces to health? When I get a man to laugh, I put him in a good humour with himself, and his neighbour. Nothing does a man *more good* than a hearty laugh, and if it does him good, is it not *of use to him?* Here then is an argument strictly utilitarian, according to the most rigid rules of logic. As to the book having no idea, that will be

* This is a sample of that delicate irony, which characterises the author's writings.

all the better for those who like light reading, and do not wish to be troubled with the labour of thinking. In conclusion, it may be, after all, that there is a moral in the book, which the reader may discover if he will take the trouble to look for it. Truth is at the bottom of the well, and will remain there unless some one draws the bucket. Wishing the Reader all manner of happiness, for the present,

Vale—Valete,

THE AUTHOR.

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MODERN CHIVALRY.

CHAPTER I.

The hero is introduced to the reader—Resolves to see the world—His character, and that of Teague O'Regan—Sallying forth, and an adventure—Query whether merit, or talents are hereditary.

Captain John Farrago, was a man about forty-five years of age, of good natural sense and considerable reading; but in some things whimsical, owing perhaps to his greater knowledge of books, than of the world; but in some degree, also, to his having never married, being what we call an old bachelor; a characteristic of which is, usually, singularity and whim. He had the advantage of having had in early life an academic education; but having never applied himself to any of the learned professions, he had lived the greater part of his life near a village of western Pennsylvania, on a small farm, which he cultivated with servants,* or hired hands, as he could conveniently supply himself with either. He was himself no idler, for he often held his own plough, or swung his flail, while his hands were embrowned by exposure to the sun, and hardened by the use

* Redemptioners, or those bound for a term, to pay for their passage, were called *servants*.

of the axe. In person he was tall, and what is called raw-boned; his features were strongly marked, and rather coarse but not disagreeable, although his nose somewhat exceeded the usual length. The servant he had at this time was an Irishman, whose name was Teague O'Regan. I shall say nothing at present of the character of this man, because the very name imports what he was.

A strange idea came into the head of the captain about this time; for, by the by, I had forgot to mention that having been a captain of a company of militia, he had gone by the name of captain ever since; for the rule is, once a captain, always a captain; but, as I was observing, the idea had come into his head, to saddle an old horse that he had, and ride about the world a little, with his man Teague at his heels, to see how things were going on here and there, and to observe human nature. For it is a mistake to suppose, that a man cannot learn man by reading him in a corner, as well as on the widest space of transaction. At any rate, it may yield amusement. He accordingly sold off his personal effects, pocketed some cash, and leased out his small farm near the village, retaining only the old saddle-horse, which had been for some time relieved from the ordinary services in the plough or wagon.

Equipped in the manner we have described, in about a score of miles from his own house, he fell in with what we call Races. The jockeys seeing him advance, with Teague by his side, whom they took for his groom, conceived him to be some person who had brought his horse to enter for the purse. "You seem to be for the races, sir," said one of them, "and have a horse to enter." "Not at all," replied the captain; "this is but a common hack, and by no means remarkable for speed or bottom; he is a plough horse which I have used on my farm for several years, and can scarce go beyond a trot; much less match himself with your blooded horses."

The jockeys suspected from this speech, that the horse was what they call a *bite*, and that under the appearance of leanness and stiffness, there was concealed some hidden quality of swiftness uncommon. For they had heard of instances, where the most knowing had been taken in by mean-looking horses: so that having laid two, or more, to one, they were nevertheless bitten by the bet; and the mean-looking nags, proved to be horses of more than common speed and bottom. They could have no idea, that a man could come there in so singular a manner, with a groom at his foot, unless he had some great object of making money by the adventure. Under this idea, they began to interrogate him with respect to the blood and pedigree of his horse: whether he was of the Dove, or the Bay mare that took the purse; and was imported by such a one at such a time? whether his sire was Tamerlane or Bajazet?

The captain, somewhat out of humour, said, "Gentlemen, it is a strange thing that you should suppose that it is of any consequence what may be the pedigree of a horse. For even in men it is of no avail. Do we not find that sages have had blockheads for their sons; and that blockheads have had sages? It is remarkable, that as estates have seldom lasted three generations, at least in this country, where there is no artificial entailment, so understanding and ability have seldom been transmitted to the second. There never was a greater man, take him as an orator and philosopher, than Cicero: and never was there a person who had greater opportunities than his son Marcus; and yet he proved of no account or reputation. This is an old instance, but there are a thousand others. Chesterfield and his son are mentioned. It is true, Philip and Alexander may be said to be exceptions; Philip of the strongest possible mind; capable of almost every thing we can conceive; the deepest policy and the most determined valour; his son Alexander not deficient in the first, and before him in the last; if it is possible

to be before a man than whom you can suppose nothing greater. It is possible, in modern times, that Tippo Saib may be equal to his father Hyder Ali. Some talk of the two Pitts. I have no idea that the son is, in any respect, equal to old Sir William. The one is a laboured artificial minister; the other spoke with the thunder, and acted with the lightning of the gods. I will venture to say, that when the present John Adams,* and Lee, and Jefferson, and Jay, and Henry, and other great men, who appear upon the stage at this time, have gone to sleep with their fathers, it is a hundred to one if there is any of their descendants who can fill their places. Were I to lay a bet for a great man, I would sooner pick up the brat of a tinker, than go into the great houses to choose a piece of stuff for a man of genius. Even with respect to personal appearance, which is more in the power of natural production, we do not see that beauty always produces beauty; but on the contrary, the homeliest persons have oftentimes the best favoured offspring; so that there is no rule or reason in these things. With respect to this horse, therefore, it can be of no moment whether he is blooded or studded, or what he is. He is a good old horse, used to the plough, and carries my weight very well; and I have never yet made inquiry with respect to his ancestor, or affronted him so much as to cast up to him the defect of parentage. I bought him some years ago from Neil Thomas, who had him from a colt. As far as I can understand, he was of a brown mare that John M'Neis had; but of what horse I know no more than the horse himself. His gaits are good enough, as to riding a short journey of seven or eight miles; but he is rather a pacer than a trotter; and though his bottom may be good enough in carrying a bag to the mill, or going in the plough, or the sled, or the har-

* This was written before the present John Quincy Adams had risen to distinction.

row, &c., yet his wind is not so good, nor his speed, as to be fit for the heats."

The jockeys, to whom all this was jargon, thought the man a fool, and gave themselves no more trouble about him.

The horses were now entered, and about to start for the purse. There was Black and All-Black, and Snip, John Duncan's Barbary Slim, and several others. The riders had been weighed, and when mounted, the word was given. It is needless to describe a race; every body knows the circumstances of it. It is sufficient to say, that from the bets that were laid, there was much interest, and some passion in the minds of those concerned: So, that as two of the horses, Black and All-Black, and Slim, came out near together, such disputing, confusion, and anger, was manifested, that it came to kicking and cuffing in some places.

Captain Farrago, who, as a spectator, had witnessed this behaviour among those whom he took to be gentlemen, felt so much hurt at the violation of all propriety, that, coming forward, he addressed them in the following manner: "Gentlemen, this behaviour is unbecoming modern manners, or even the ancient. For at the Olympic games of Greece, where were celebrated horse and chariot races, there was no such hurry scurry as this; and in times of chivalry itself, where men ate, drank, and slept on horseback, though there was a great deal of pell-melling, yet no such disorderly work. If men had a difference, they couched their lances, and ran full tilt at one another; but no such indecent expressions, as villain, scoundrel, liar, ever came out of their mouths. There was the most perfect courtesy in those days of heroism and honour; and this your horse-racing, which is a germ of the amusements of those times, ought to be conducted on the same principles of decorum and good breeding."

As he was speaking, a rush of horsemen, as often happens at such places, threw him from his nag; and had it not been for Teague, who was at hand, he would have su

rious injury. As it was, he received a contusion in his head, of which he complained much; and having remounted, left the race-ground, and coming to a log cabin, stopped a little, to alight and dress the wound. An old woman who was there, thought they ought to take a little of his water, and send it to the doctor; but the captain, having no faith in telling disorders by the urine, thought proper to send for a surgeon who was hard by, to examine the bruise, and apply bandages, if necessary.

The surgeon, after examining the part, pronounced it "A contusion of the cerebrum. But as there appeared but little laceration, and no fracture, simple or compound, the pia mater could not be injured; nor even could there be more than a slight impression on the dura mater; so that trepanning did not at all appear necessary—a most fortunate circumstance; for a wound in the head, is of all places the most dangerous; because there can be no amputation to save life. There being but one head to a man, and that being the residence of the five senses, it is impossible to live without it. Nevertheless, as the present case was highly dangerous, as it might lead to a subsultus tendinum or lock-jaw, it was necessary to apply cataplasms in order to reduce inflammation, and bring about a sanative disposition of the parts. Perhaps it might not be amiss, to take an anodyne as a refrigerant. Many patients had been lost by the ignorance of empirics prescribing tonics; whereas, in the first stage of a contusion, relaxing and antifebrile medicines are proper. A little phlebotomy was no doubt necessary, to prevent the rupture of the smaller blood vessels."

The captain hearing so many hard words and bad accounts of his case, was somewhat alarmed. Nevertheless he did not think it could be absolutely so dangerous. For it seemed to him that he was not sick at heart, or under any mortal pain. The surgeon observed, that "in this case he could not himself be a judge. For the very part was affected

by which he was to judge, viz. the head; that it was no uncommon thing for men in the extremest cases to imagine themselves out of danger; whereas in reality, they were in the greatest possible; that notwithstanding the symptoms were mild, yet from the contusion, a mortification might ensue. Hypocrates, who might be styled an elementary physician, and has a treatise on this very subject, is of opinion, that the most dangerous symptom is a topical insensibility; but among the moderns, Sydenham considers it in another point of view, and thinks that where there is no pain, there is as great reason to suppose that there is no hurt, as that there is a mortal one. Be this as it may, antiseptic medicines might be very proper."

Captain Farrago, conscious to himself that he was by no means in so bad a state as this son of Esculapius would represent, in some measure lost command over his temper. "It is," said he, "the craft of your profession to make the case worse than it is, in order to increase the perquisites. But if there is any faith in you, make the same demand, and let me know your real judgment."

The surgeon was offended in turn, and took it into his head to fix some apprehensions in the mind of his patient, if possible, that his case was not without danger. Looking steadfastly at him for some time, and feeling his pulse; "there is," said he, "an evident delirium approaching. This argues an affection of the brain; but it will be necessary, after some soporiferous draughts, to put the patient to sleep."

Said the patient, "if you will give me about a pint of whiskey and water, I will try to go to sleep myself."

"A deleterious mixture, in this case, especially a distillation of that quality," said the surgeon.

He would hear no more; but requesting the man of the cabin to let him have the spirits proposed, drank a pint or two of grog, and having bound up his head with a handkerchief, went to bed, and after a profound sleep, awoke the next morning, perfectly well.

CHAPTER II.

Containing some reflections which will enable the reader to find the moral of the preceding.

The first reflection that arises, is the good sense of our hero, (and why may we not give him that title,) who was unwilling to impose his horse for a racer; not being qualified for the course. Because, as an old lean beast, attempting a trot, he was respectable enough; but going out of his nature and affecting speed, he would have been contemptible. The great secret of preserving respect, is the cultivating and showing to the best advantage the powers that we possess, and the not going beyond them. Every thing in its element is good, and in their proper sphere all natures and capacities are excellent. This thought might be turned into a thousand different shapes, and clothed with various expressions; but, after all, it comes to the old proverb at last, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*—let the cobler stick to last; a sentiment we are about more to illustrate in the sequel to this work.*

The second reflection that arises, is, the simplicity of the captain, who was so unacquainted with the world, as to

* An ignorant people must necessarily be led by the demagogue. From his own experience, the author knew how much it was in the power of every citizen to improve his mind. In his estimation, the importance of the duties confided to him in the choice of men, and approval of measures, rendered it almost criminal, under our institutions, to be ignorant. He was an enemy to all hereditary privileged orders. Individual merit, individual capacity, and worth, in his opinion alone should be preferred—but at the same time, *they should be preferred*, and not postponed to presumptuous ignorance, or mere selfish ambition.

imagine that jockeys and men of the turf could be managed by reason and good sense; whereas there are no people who are by education of a less philosophic turn of mind. The company of horses is by no means favourable to good taste and genius. The rubbing and currying them, but little enlarges the faculties, or improves the mind; and even riding, by which a man is carried swiftly through the air, though it contributes to health, yet stores the mind with few or no ideas; and as men naturally consimilate with their company, so it is observable that your jockeys are a class of people not far removed from the sagacity of a good horse. Hence most probably the fable of the centaur, among the ancients; by which they held out the moral of the jockey and the horse being one beast.

A third reflection is, that which he expressed, viz. the professional art of the surgeon to make the most of the case, and the technical terms used by him. I have to declare, that it is with no attempt at wit, that the terms are set down, or the art of the surgeon hinted at; because it is a thing so commonplace to ridicule the peculiarities of a profession, or its phraseologies, that it savours of mean parts to indulge it. For a man of real genius will never walk in the beaten path, because his object is what is new and uncommon. This surgeon does not appear to have been a man of very great ability; but, the captain was certainly wrong in declining his prescriptions; for the maxim is, *unicuique, in arte sua, perito, credendum est;* every one is to be trusted in his profession.

CHAPTER III.

The election—The Captain dissuades a weaver from being a candidate, but is near losing Teague, whom the voters wish to take up in his place.

At an early hour, our knight-errant and his squire set out on their way, and soon arrived at a place of cross-roads, at a public house and store, where a number of people were convened, for the purpose of electing persons to represent them in the legislature of the state. This was not the annual election, but to fill an occasional vacancy. There was a weaver who was a candidate, and seemed to have a good deal of interest among the people. But another, who was a man of education, was his competitor. Relying on some talent of speaking which he thought he possessed, and getting on the stump of a large oak tree for the convenience of a more elevated position, he thus addressed the people.

"Fellow citizens," said he, "I pretend not to any great abilities; but am conscious to myself that I have the best good will to serve you. But it is very astonishing to me, that this man should conceive himself qualified for the trust. For though my acquirements are not great, yet his are still less. The business which he pursues, must necessarily take up so much of his time, that he cannot apply himself to political studies. I should therefore think it would be more answerable to your dignity, and conducive to your interest, to be represented by a man at least of some letters, than by an illiterate man like this. It will be more honourable for himself, to remain at his loom and knot threads, than to come forward in a legislative capacity; because in the one case, he is in the sphere suited to his education; in the

other, he is like a fish out of water, and must struggle for breath in a new element. It is not because he is a weaver that I object to him, but because he is nothing but a weaver, and entirely destitute of the qualifications necessary to fill the office to which he aspires. The occupation a man pursues for a livelihood is but a secondary considgration, if any consideration at all. Warriors and statesmen, and sages, may be found at the plough, and the work bench, but this man has not the slightest pretensions beyond the mysteries of his trade.

"Is it possible that he can understand the affairs of government, whose mind has been entirely concentered to the small object of weaving webs; to the price by the yard, the grist of the thread, and such like matters as concern the manufacturer of cloths? The feet of him who weaves, are more occupied than the head, or at least as much; and therefore he must be, at least, but in half, accustomed to exercise his mental powers. For these reasons, all other things set aside, the chance is in my favour, with respect to information. However, you will decide, and give your suffrages to him or to me, as you shall judge expedient."

The captain hearing these observations, and looking at the weaver, made free to subjoin something in support of what had been just said. Said he, "I have no prejudice against a weaver more than another man. Nor do I know any harm in the trade; save that from the sedentary life in a damp place, there is usually a paleness of the ~~countenance~~: but this is a physical, ~~not a moral~~ evil. Such usually occupy subterranean apartments; not for the purpose, like Demosthenes, of shaving their heads and writing over eight times the history of Thucydides, and perfecting a style of oratory; but rather to keep the thread moist; or because this is considered but as an inglorious sort of trade, and is frequently thrust away into cellars, and damp out-houses, which are not occupied for a better use.

"But to rise from the cellar to the senate house, would be an unnatural hoist for one whose mind had not been prepared for it by a previous course of study or training, either self-instructed, and gifted with superior intellect, or having the good fortune to have received an education, with also the advantage of actual experience in public affairs. To come from counting threads, and adjusting them to the splits of a reed, to regulate the finances of a government, would be preposterous; there being no congruity in the case. There is no analogy between knotting threads and framing laws. It would be a reversion of the order of things. Not that a manufacturer of linen or woollen, or other stuffs, is an inferior character, but a different one, from that which ought to be employed in affairs of state. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this subject; for you must all be convinced of the truth and propriety of what I say. But if you will give me leave to take the manufacturer aside a little, I think I can explain to him my ideas on the subject; and very probably prevail with him to withdraw his pretensions." The people seeming to acquiesce, and beckoning to the weaver, they withdrew aside, and the captain addressed him in the following words:

"Mr. Traddle," said he, "I have not the smallest idea of wounding your feelings, but it would seem to me, it would be more your interest to pursue your occupation, than to lanch out into that of which you have no knowledge. When you go to the senate house, the application to you will not be to warp a web; but to make laws for the commonwealth. Now, suppose that the making these laws requires a knowledge of commerce, of finance, and of the infinite variety of subjects embraced by the laws, civil, or criminal, what service could you render? It is possible you might think justly; but could you speak? You are not in the habit of public speaking. You are not furnished with those commonplace ideas, with which even very ignorant men can pass for knowing something. There is nothing

makes a man so ridiculous, as to attempt what is beyond his capacity. You are no tumbler for instance; yet should you give out that you could vault upon a man's back; or turn heels over head like the wheels of a cart; the stiffness of your joints would encumber you; and you would fall to the ground. Such a squash as that, would do you damage. The getting up to ride on the state is an unsafe thing to those who are not accustomed to such horsemanship. It is a disagreeable thing for a man to be laughed at, and there is no way of keeping one's self from it but by avoiding all affectation." These observations did not seem to make much impression on the weaver, who argued that common sense was often better than learning.

While they were thus discoursing, a bustle had taken place among the crowd. Teague hearing so much about elections, and serving the government, took it into his head, that he could be a legislator himself. The thing was not displeasing to the people, who seemed to favour his pretensions; owing, in some degree, to there being several of his countrymen among the crowd; but more especially to the fluctuation of the popular mind, and a disposition to what is new and ignoble. For though the weaver was not the most elevated object of choice, yet he was still preferable to this tatter-demalion.

The captain coming up, and finding what was on the carpet, was chagrined at not having been able to give the voters a better idea of the importance of a legislative trust; alarmed also, from an apprehension of the loss of his servant. Under these impressions he resumed his address to the people. Said he, "this is making the matter still worse, gentlemen: this servant of mine is but a bog-trotter, who can scarcely speak the dialect in which your laws ought to be written; but certainly has never read a single treatise on any political subject; for the truth is, he cannot read at all. The young people of the lower class, in Ireland, have sel-

dom the advantage of a good education; especially the descendants of the ancient Irish, who have most of them a great assurance of countenance, but little information or literature. This young man, whose family name is O'Regan, has been my servant for several years; and, except a too great fondness for whiskey, which now and then brings him into scrapes, he has demeaned himself in a manner tolerable enough. But he is totally ignorant of the great principles of legislation; and more especially the particular interests of the government. A free government is a noble acquisition to a people; and this freedom consists in an equal right to make laws, and to have the benefit of the laws when made. Though doubtless, in such a government, the lowest citizen may become chief magistrate; yet it is sufficient to possess the right, not absolutely necessary to exercise it. Or even if you should think proper, now and then, to show your privilege, and exert, in a signal manner, the democratic prerogative, yet is it not descending too low to filch away from me a servant whom I cannot well spare, and for whom I have paid my money? You are surely carrying the matter too far, in thinking to make a senator of this hostler; to take him away from an employment to which he has been bred, and put him to another, to which he has served no apprenticeship: to set those hands, which have lately been employed in currying my horse, to the draughting bills, and preparing business for the house."

The people were tenacious of their choice, and insisted on giving Teague their suffrages; and by the frown upon their brows, seemed to indicate resentment at what had been said; as indirectly charging them with want of judgment; or calling in question their privilege to do what they thought proper. "It is a very strange thing," said one of them, who was a speaker for the rest, "that after having conquered Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and got a government of our own, we cannot put in whom we please. This young man may

be your servant, or another man's servant; but if we choose to make him a delegate, what is that to you? He may not be yet skilled in the matter, but there is a good day coming. We will empower him; and it is better to trust a plain man like him, than one of your high-flyers, that will make laws to suit their own purposes."

"I had much rather," said the captain, "you would send the weaver, though I thought that improper, than to invade my household, and thus take from me the person who is employed to curry my horse, and black my boots."

The prolocutor of the people gave him to understand that his objections were useless, for the people had determined on the choice, and Teague they would have, for a representative.

Finding it answered no end to expostulate, he requested to speak a word with Teague by himself. Stepping aside, he said to him, composing his voice, and addressing him in a soft manner: "Teague, you are quite wrong in this matter they have put into your head. Do you know what it is to be a member of a deliberative body? What qualifications are necessary? Do you understand any thing of geography? If a question should be put to make a law to dig a canal in some part of the state, can you describe the bearing of the mountains, and the course of the rivers? Or, if commerce is to be pushed to some new quarter, by the force of regulations, are you competent to decide in such a case? There will be questions of law, and astronomy, on the carpet. How you must gape and stare like a fool, when you come to be asked your opinion on these subjects! Are you acquainted with the principles of finance; with the funding public securities; the ways and means of raising the revenue; providing for the discharge of the public debts, and all other things which respect the economy of the government? Even if you had knowledge, have you a facility of speaking? I would suppose you would have too much pride to go to

the house just to say, ay or no. This is not the fault of your nature, but of your education; having been accustomed to dig turf in your early years, rather than instructing yourself in the classics, or common school books.*

"When a man becomes a member of a public body, he is like a raccoon, or other beast that climbs up the fork of a tree; the boys pushing at him with pitchforks, or throwing stones, or shooting at him with arrows; the dogs barking in the mean time. One will find fault with your not speaking; another with your speaking, if you speak at all. They

* In this piece of ironical advice to Teague, the author might be supposed to have had in his eye the discourse of Socrates to Glauco, as given in Zenephon's memoirs of the illustrious sage. Glauco, scarcely yet twenty years of age, with the inexperience of youth, conceiving the desire of governing the state, Socrates undertakes to dissuade him, and begins by complimenting him for his generous intention, as evincing a mind set on higher things than the vulgar. He then artfully puts a variety of questions to him as to the laws and policy of the state, and with respect to the measures necessary to a prosperous management of affairs, at home and abroad, which lead in a most ludicrous manner to an exposure of the ignorance and incapacity of the youth. He then concludes with this wholesome advice: "Beware then my Glauco; beware lest a too eager desire of glory should terminate in shame. Consider how much they hazard who undertake things, and talk on subjects of which they are ignorant. Call to mind those of your acquaintance, who have thus talked, and thus done, and see whether the purchase they made for themselves had not more of censure than applause in it; of contempt than admiration. Consider, on the other hand, with what credit they appear, who have made themselves masters of the point in question: and when you have done this, I doubt not your seeing, that approbation and glory are alone the attendants of capacity and true merit; while contempt and shame are the sure reward of ignorance and temerity. If, therefore, you desire to be admired and esteemed by your country, beyond all others, you must exceed all others in the knowledge of those things, which you are ambitious of undertaking: and thus qualified, I shall not scruple to insure your success, whenever you may think proper to preside over the commonwealth."

will put you in the newspapers, and ridicule you as a perfect beast. There is what they call the *caricatura;* that is, representing you with a dog's head, or a cat's claw. It is the devil to be exposed to the squibs and crackers of the gazette wits and publications. You know no more about these matters than a goose; and yet you would undertake rashly, without advice, to enter on the office; nay, contrary to advice. For I would not for a hundred guineas, though I have not the half to spare, that the breed of the O'Regans should come to this; bringing on them a worse stain than stealing sheep. You have nothing but your character, Teague, in a new country to depend upon. Let it never be said, that you quitted an honest livelihood, the taking care of my horse, to follow the new fangled whims of the times, and be a statesman. And, besides, have I not promised to do something clever towards settling you in life hereafter, provided you will serve me faithfully in my travels? Something better than you have thought of may turn up in the course of our rambles."

Teague was moved chiefly with the last part of the address, and consented to relinquish his pretensions.

The captain, glad of this, took him back to the people, and announced his disposition to decline the honour which they had intended him.

Teague acknowledged that he had changed his mind, and was willing to remain in a private station.

The people did not seem well pleased; but as nothing more could be said about the matter, they turned their attention to the weaver, and gave him their suffrages.

CHAPTER IV.

The captain goes to the abode of a conjurer, to ask why the people are so prone to elect low persons to high stations.

Captain Farrago and Teague, having left the election ground without any further incident, proceeded on their way, and at the distance of a mile or two, met a man with a bridle in his hand, who had lost a horse, and had been at a conjurer's to make inquiry, and recover his property. Hearing this, the captain suddenly bethought him of going to the same conjuring person, and make a demand of him, "Why it was that the multitude were so disposed to elevate the low to the highest station?" He had rode but about a mile, when the habitation of the conjurer, by the direction and description which the man who had lost the horse had given, began to be in view. Coming up to the door, and inquiring if that was not where conjurer Cobb lived, they were answered, "yes." Alighting, and entering the domicil, all those things took place which usually happen, or are described in cases of this nature, viz., there was the conjurer's assistant, who gave the captain to understand that the master had withdrawn a little, but would be in shortly.

In the mean time, the assistant endeavoured to draw from him some account of the occasion of his journey; which the other readily communicated; and the conjurer, who was listening through a crack in the partition, overheard. Finding it was not a horse or a cow, or a piece of linen that was lost, but an abstract question of political philosophy which was to be put, he came from his lurking-place, and entered, as if not knowing that any person had been waiting for him.

After mutual salutations, the captain gave him to understand the object which he had in view by calling on him.

Said the conjurer, "this lies not at all in my way. If it had been a dozen of spoons, or a stolen watch, that you had to look for, I could very readily, by the assistance of my art, have assisted you in the recovery; but as to this matter of men's imaginations and attachments in political affairs, I have no more understanding than another man."

"It is very strange," said the captain, "that you who can tell by what means a thing is stolen, and the place where it is deposited, though at a thousand miles distance, should know so little of what is going on in the breast of man, as not to be able to develope his secret thoughts, and the motives of his actions."

"It is not our business," said the other; "but should we undertake it, I do not see that it would be very difficult to explain all that puzzles you at present. There is no need of a conjurer to tell why it is that the common people are more disposed to trust one of their own class, than those who may affect to be superior. Besides, there is a certain pride in man, which leads him to elevate the low, and pull down the high. There is a kind of creating power exerted in making a senator of an unqualified person; which when the author has done, he exults over the work, and like the Creator himself, when he made the world, sees that 'it is very good.' Moreover, there is in every government a patrician class, against whom the spirit of the multitude naturally militates: and hence a perpetual war: the aristocrats endeavouring to detrude the people, and the people contending to obtrude themselves. And it is right it should be so; for, by this fermentation, the spirit of democracy is kept alive."

The captain, thanking him for his information, asked him "what was to pay;" at the same time pulling out half a crown from a green silk purse which he had in his breeches pocket. The conjurer gave him to understand, that as the

solution of these difficulties was not within his province, he took nothing for it. The captain expressing his sense of his disinterested service, bade him adieu.

CHAPTER V.

Containing reflections on the nature, and advantages of a democracy. The author shows himself a democrat in the genuine sense.

A DEMOCRACY is beyond all question the freest government; because, under this, every man is equally protected by the laws, and has equally a voice in making them. But I do not say an equal voice; because some men have stronger lungs than others, and can express more forcibly their opinions of public affairs. Others, though they may not speak very loud, yet have a faculty of saying more in a short time; and even in the case of others, who speak little or none at all, yet what they do say, containing good sense, comes with greater weight; so that, all things considered, every citizen has not, in this sense of the word, an equal voice. But the right being equal, what great harm if it is unequally exercised? Is it necessary that every man should become a statesman? No more than that every man should become a poet or a painter. The sciences are open to all; but let him only who has taste and genius pursue them. "If any man covets the office of a bishop," says St. Paul, "he covets a good work." But again, he adds this caution, "Ordain not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride, he falls into the condemnation of the devil." It is indeed making a devil of a man to lift him up to a state to which he is not suited. A ditcher is a respectable character, with his over-alls on, and a spade in his hand, but put the same man to those offices which require the head, whereas he has been accustomed

to impress with his foot, and there appears a contrast between the individual and the occupation.

There are individuals in society, who prefer honour to wealth; or cultivate political studies as a branch of literary pursuits; and offer themselves to serve public bodies in order to have an opportunity of discovering their knowledge, and exercising their judgment. It must be matter of chagrin to these, and hurtful to the public, to see those who have no talent this way, and ought to have no taste, preposterously obtrude themselves upon the government. It is the same as if a bricklayer should usurp the office of a tailor, and come with his square and perpendicular, to take the measure of a pair of breeches.

It is proper that those who cultivate oratory, should go to the house of orators. But for mere ay and no men, who can neither speak nor think, to be ambitious of that place, is to sacrifice his credit to his vanity.

I would not mean to insinuate that legislators are to be selected from the more wealthy of the citizens, or from any particular calling; yet a man ought to have the habits of study and reflection, whatever may be his situation; and it is no objection if his circumstances have afforded him leisure for such pursuits. But there is often wealth without taste or talent. I have no idea, that because a man lives in a great house, and has a cluster of bricks or stones about him, that he is therefore fit for a legislator. There is so much pride and arrogance with those who consider themselves the first in a government, that it deserves to be checked by the populace, and the evil most usually commences on this side. Men associate with their own persons, the adventitious circumstances of birth and fortune: so that a fellow, blowing with fat and repletion, conceives himself superior to the poor lean man, that lodges in an humble dwelling. But as in all cases, so in this, there is a medium. Genius and virtue are independent of rank and fortune; and it is neither

the opulent, nor the indigent, but the man of ability and integrity that ought to be called forth to serve his country;* and while, on the one hand, the aristocratic part of the government arrogates a right to represent; on the other hand, the democratic contests the point; and from this conjunction and opposition of forces, there is produced a compound resolution, which carries the object to an intermediate direction. When we see, therefore, a Teague O'Regan lifted up, the philosopher will reflect that it is to balance some purse-proud fellow, equally as ignorant, that comes down from the sphere of aristocratic interest. Still, it would undoubtedly be better if both were suffered to remain in their original stations. Every man ought to consider for himself, whether it is to his use to be this drawback, on either side. As when good liquor is distilled, you throw in some material useless in itself, to correct the effervescence of the spirit, so it may be his part to act as a sedative. For though we commend the effect, yet still the material retains but its original value.

But as the nature of things is such, let no man who means well to the commonwealth, and offers to serve it, be hurt in his mind when some one of inferior talents is preferred. The people are a sovereign, and greatly despotic; but in the main, just.

It might be advisable, in order to elevate the composition, to make quotations from the Greek and Roman history. And I am conscious to myself, that I have read the writers on the government of Italy and Greece, in ancient, as well as in modern times. But I have drawn a great deal more from reflection on the nature of things, than from all the writings I have ever read. Nay, the history of the election, which I have just given, will afford a better lesson to the American mind, than all that is to be found in other exam-

* The Chinese policy in this matter is worthy of imitation.

ples. We have seen here, a weaver a favoured candidate, and in the next instance, a bog-trotter superseding him. Now it may be said, that this is fiction; but fiction or no fiction, the nature of the thing will make it a reality. But I return to the adventures of the captain, whom I have upon my hands; and who, as far as I can yet discover, is a good honest man; and means what is benevolent and useful; though his ideas may not comport with the ordinary manner of thinking, in every particular.

CHAPTER VI.

The society of philosophers—When the useful is lost sight of, philosophy is apt to become frivolity.

THERE was, in a certain great city, a society who called themselves Philosophers. They had published books, under the title of Transactions. These contained dissertations on the nature and causes of things, from the stars of heaven to the fire flies of the earth; and from the sea crab, to the woodland buffalo. Such disquisitions, are doubtless useful and entertaining to an inquisitive mind.

There is no question, but there were in this body some very great men; whose investigations of the arcana of nature deserve attention. But so it was, there had been introduced, by some means, many individuals, who were no philosophers at all. This is no unusual thing with institutions of this nature; though, by the bye, it is a very great fault. For it lessens the incentives of honour, to have the access made so easy, that every one may obtain admission. It has been a reproach to some colleges, that a diploma could be purchased for half a crown. This society were still more moderate; for the bare scratching the back of a

member has been known to procure a membership. At least, there have been those admitted, who appeared capable of nothing else.*

Nevertheless, it was necessary, even in these cases, for the candidates to procure some token of a philosophic turn of mind; such as the skin of a dead cat, or some odd kind of a mouse trap; or have praises in their mouths about minerals and petrifactions; so as just to support some idea of natural knowledge, and pass muster. There was one who got in, by finding accidentally, the tail of a rabbit, which had been taken off in a boy's trap. The beard of an old fox, taken off and dried in the sun, was the means of introducing another: or rather, as I have already hinted, it was beforehand intended he should be introduced; and these spoils of the animal kingdom were but the tokens and apologies for admission.

It happened as the captain was riding this day, and Teague trotting after him, he saw a large owl, that had been shot by somebody, and was placed in the crotch of a tree, about the height of a man's head from the ground, for those that passed by to look at. Being struck with it, as somewhat larger than such birds usually are, he desired Teague to reach it to him, and tying it to the hinder part of his saddle, rode along.

He had not rode more than two or three miles, before he

* There are some strokes of satire in this chapter aimed at what, to the author, appeared the loss of time on things which could only gratify an idle curiosity, attended by no useful results, but his leading object was, in the general spirit of the work, to repress presumptuous ignorance. He was an enemy to all false pretensions. According to him, philosophers should be philosophers, legislators legislators, and every man in reality what he professed to be. He was by no means, however, a mere utilitarian, but a friend to every useful, and elegant, as well as curious inquiry and occupation of the mind. The succeeding chapter explains his real sentiments on this subject.

was met, and accosted by a respectable looking traveller, well mounted, and attended by a servant following him on another horse with the portmanteau. This traveller, who proved to be a member of the Philosophical Society, seeing the bird at the saddle skirts, stopped to make inquiry with regard to the genus and nature of the fowl.

"Sir," said the captain, "I know nothing more about it, than that it is nearly as large as a turkey buzzard."

"It is doubtless," said the other, "the great Canada owl, that comes from the lakes; and if you will give me leave, squire, I will take it and submit it to the society, and have yourself made a member."

Consent was readily given to the first; but as to the second, the being a member, he chose rather to decline it; conceiving himself unqualified for a place in such a body. The other assured him that he was under a very great mistake; for there were members who scarcely knew a B from a bull's foot. "That may be," said the captain: "but if others choose to degrade themselves, by suffering their names to be used in so preposterous a way as that, it was no reason he should."

The other gave him to understand, that the society would certainly wish to express their sense of his merit, and show themselves not inattentive to a virtuoso; that as he declined the honour himself, he probably might not be averse to let his attendant take a seat among them.

"He is but a simple Irishman," said the captain, "and of a low education; his language being that spoken by the aborigines of his country. And if he speaks a little English, it is with the brogue on his tongue, which would be unbecoming in a member of your body. It would seem to me that a philosopher ought to know how to wrte, or at least to read; but Teague can neither write nor read. He can sing a song or whistle an Irish tune; but is totally illiterate in all things else. I question much if he could tell you

how many new moons there are in the year; or any the most common things you could ask him. He is a long-legged fellow, it is true, and might be of service in clambering over rocks, or going to the shores of rivers to gather curiosities. But could you not get persons to do this, without making them members? I have more respect for science, than to suffer this bog trotter to be so advanced at its expense. In these American states, there is a wide field for philosophical research; and these researches may be of great use in agriculture, manufactures, and architecture. There is but little immediate profit attending these pursuits; but if there can be inducements of honour, these may supply the place. What more alluring to a young man, than the prospect of being one day received into the society of men truly learned, the admission being a test and proof of distinguished knowledge. But the fountain of honour, thus contaminated by a sediment foreign from its nature, who would wish to drink of it?"

"As to that," said the philosopher, "at the first institution of the society by Dr. Franklin and others, it was put upon a narrow basis, and only men of science were considered proper to compose it; and this might be a necessary policy at that time, when the institution was in its infancy, and could not bear much drawback of ignorance. But it has not been judged so necessary of late years. The matter stands now on a broad and catholic bottom; and like the gospel itself, it is our orders 'to go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in.' There are hundreds, whose names you may see on our list, who are not more instructed than your man Teague."

"They must be a sad set indeed then," said the captain.

"Sad or no sad," said the other, "it is the case; and if you will let Teague go, I will engage him a membership."

"I take it very ill of you, Mr. Philosopher," said the captain, "to put this nonsense in his head. If you knew

what trouble I have lately had with a parcel of people that were for sending him to Congress, you would be unwilling to draw him from me for the purpose of making him a philosopher. It is not an easy matter to get servants now a-days; and when you do get one, it is a mere chance whether he will suit your purpose. It would be a very great loss to me to have him taken off at this time, when I have equipped myself for a journey."

Teague who had been attentive to what had been passing, but without comprehending it, supposed that he was about to be prevented from the possession of something to his advantage, declared that he would accept of his honour's offer, and be a philosopher in spite of his master.

"You are an ignoramus," said the captain. "It is not the being among philosophers will make you one."

He insisted that he had a right to make the best of his fortune: and as there was a door open to his advancement he did not see why he might not make use of it.

The captain finding that it answered no end to dispute the matter with him by words of sense and reason, took a contrary way to manage him.

"Teague," said he, "I have a regard for you, and would wish to see you do well. I have not forgotten my promise; but if you will be a philosopher, which you erroneously suppose will lead to fortune, let me speak a word or two in private on the subject. If you will go, I may perhaps suggest some things that may be of service to you, for your future conduct in this new line of life."

Teague consenting, they stepped aside, and his master addressed him in the following manner:

"Teague," said he, "do you know what you are about? It is a fine thing at first sight, to be a philosopher, and get into this society, as they call it. And, indeed, if you were a real philosopher, it might be some honour, and also safe, to take that leap. But do you think it is to make a philo-

sopher of you that they want you? Far from it. It is their great study to find curiosities; and they will have you away through the bogs and marshes, catching fire flies; or oblige you to descend into draw-wells for fogs, and phlogistic air. You must go into wolves dens, run over mountains like a catamount, and dig the earth like a ground hog. You will have to climb over trees, and be bit by flying squirrels. There will be no end to the mosquetoes you will have to dissect. What is all this, to diving into milldams and rivers, to catch craw-fish? Or if you go to the ocean, there are sharks to devour you. Will they give wages, think you? No, certainly—you must work for the honour of the thing, and find your own food and clothing. Who knows but it may come your turn, in a windy night, to go aloft to the heavens, to rub down the stars, and give fodder to the goats and rams? The keeping the stars clean and bright is a laborious work. There is a bull there, would think no more of tossing you on his horns than he would a puppy dog. If the crab should get you into his claws, he would squeeze you like a lobster. But what is all that to your having no place to stand on? How would you like to be up at the moon, and to fall down when you had missed your hold, like a boy from the topmast of a ship, and have your brains beat out upon the top of some great mountain, where your skeleton would be picked by the turkey buzzards?

"Or if they should, in the mean time, excuse you from such out-of-door services, they will rack and torture you with hard questions. You must tell them how long the rays of light are coming from the sun; how many drops of rain fall in a thundergust; what makes the grasshopper chirp when the sun is hot; how muscle shells get up to the top of the mountains; how the Indians got over to America. You will have to prove that the negroes were once white, and that their flat noses came by some one giving a slap in

the face when the clay was soft. Take my advice, and stay where you are. Many men have ruined themselves by their ambition, and made bad worse. There is another kind of philosophy, which lies more within your sphere; that is moral philosophy. Every hostler or hireling can study this, and you have the most excellent opportunity of acquiring this knowledge in our traverses through the country, or communications at the different taverns or villages, where we may happen to sojourn."

Teague had long ago, in his own mind, given up all thoughts of the society, and would not for the world have any more to do with it; especially as there was nothing to be got; therefore, without bidding the philosopher adieu, they pursued their route as usual.

CHAPTER VII.

Containing some reflections and explanations, partly apologetic.

The institution of the American Philosophical Society, does great honour to the founders: and what has been published by that body, comes not behind what has appeared from societies of the same nature elsewhere. But of late years, it has ceased to be presumptive evidence, at least what the lawyers call violent presumption, of philosophical attainments, to be a member; owing to the spurious brood of illiterate persons that have been admitted indiscriminately with the informed; this again, owing to a political dispute in the government where this society exists. For where there are parties in the commonwealth, they naturally subdivide themselves, and are found even in the retreats of the muses. It has become the question with this society, not, whether a man is a philosopher or not, but what part

he has taken in some question on the carpet. The body conceived itself to pay a compliment to the person admitted, as if it could be any honour to a man to be announced what he is not. The contrary is the case here. As honour is the acknowledgment which the world makes of a man's respectability, there can be no honour here; for it has become a mere matter of moonshine to be a member. To be, or not to be, that is the question; but so trifling, that it is scarcely ever made. The way to remedy this, would be, to have an overhauling of the house, and derange at least three parts in four. As in the case of Tarquin, and the three remaining books of the Sybils, you would receive as much for the fourth part of that body, should you set them up at market, as for the whole at present.

I have often reflected with myself, what an honour it must be, to be one of the society of the French academy; forty, of twenty-four millions of people, are selected in consequence of literary characters already established.

I recollect the time when I had high ideas of philosophical membership in America. But it does not appear to me now to be the highest thing that a man could wish, since even a common Teague O'Regan trotting on the highway, has been solicited to take a seat. It may be said, that this is an exaggeration of the facts; and can be considered only as burlesque. I profess it is not intended as such, but as a fair picture of what has taken place. Should it be considered in the light of burlesque, it must be a very lame one; because where there is no excess there can be no caricature. But omitting all apologies and explanations, let the matter rest where it is.

CHAPTER VIII.

Adventure of the inn—The roguery of Teague, and distress of a clergyman.

It was somewhat late when our *modern* chevalier, or knight-errant, gained the shelter of an inn. There was there, before him, a young clergyman, who had been preaching that day to a neighbouring congregation; but had not as usual gone home with an elder, but had come thus far on his way towards another place, where he was to preach the next day.

The captain entering into conversation with the clergyman, sat up pretty late. The subject was what might be expected; viz. the affairs of religion and the church. The clergyman was a good young man, perhaps inclining to righteousness over much. The captain, on the other hand, was somewhat skeptical on doctrinal points of religion: Hence, some opposition of sentiment between the two. But at length, drowsiness seizing both, candles were called for, and they went to bed.

It was about an hour or two after, when an uproar was heard in a small chamber to the left of the staircase which led to the floor on which they slept. It seems that Teague had stolen into the chamber of the housemaid; for as they would neither let him go to Congress, nor be a philosopher, he must be doing something. The girl, alarmed by the intrusion, awakened the house by her screams. The clergyman, who slept in an adjoining chamber, hearing her cries, leaped out of bed in his shirt, and ran in to see what was the cause of the disturbance. The captain also jumping up, followed soon after, and was scarcely in the chamber, be-

fore the landlord, coming up with a candle, found them all together.

The maid gave this account of the matter: "That some person had clandestinely entered her bedroom, upon which she called out murder; but whether it was any body there present, or some one else, she could not tell."

Teague, apprehensive that suspicion might fix upon him, and not being without a certain cunning and quickness of sagacity, which vastly superior minds often do not possess, adopted the expedient of throwing the matter on the clergyman—"I was aslape in my own bed, as sound as de blankets about me, plase your honours, when I heard de sound of dis young crature's voice crying out like a shape in a pasture; and when after I had heard, aslape as I was, and come here, I found dis praste, who was so holy, and praching all night, wid his arms round dis young crature's neck; and if I had not given him a twitch by de nose, and bid him lie over, dear honey, he would have ravished and murdered her, save her soul, and de paple of de house not de wiser for it."

The clergyman stared with his mouth open; for the palpable nature of the falsehood had shocked him beyond the power of speech.

But the landlady, a sort of revolutionary relic, and none of the softest of the sex, in the mean time had come up, and had heard what Teague had just related, was enraged, and could supply speech for them both. "Hey!" said she, "this comes of your preaching and praying, Mr. Minister. I have lodged many a gentleman, but never had such doings here before. It is a pretty story that a minister of the gospel should be the first to bring a scandal upon the house."

The captain interrupted her, and told her there was no harm done; and if there was no noise made about it, all matters might be set right.

The clergyman had by this time recovered himself so much as to have the use of his tongue; and began by pro-

"The Clergyman stared with mouth open; for the palpable nature of the falsehood had shocked him beyond the power of speech."

testing his innocence, and that it was no more he that made the attack upon the maid, than the angel Gabriel.

The captain, wishing to save his feelings, began by excusing or extenuating the offence. "It is no great affair," said he, "after all that is said or done. There was Abraham, and his maid Hagar; he had a son by her, whom he named Ishmael. Joshua, who took Jericho by the sound of ram's horns, saved Rahab, under a pretence that she had been civil to the spies he had sent out, but in reality because he himself took a fancy for her. I need say nothing about David, who wrote the Psalms; and yet in his old days had a young woman to sleep with him. Human nature is human nature still; and it is not all the preaching and praying on earth can extinguish it."

The clergyman averred his innocence, and that it was the red-haired man himself, meaning Teague, who was in the room first, and had been guilty of the outrage. Teague was beginning to make the sign of the cross, and to put himself into an attitude for swearing, when the captain thinking it of no consequence who was the person, put an end to the matter, by ordering Teague to bed, and himself bidding the company good night.

The clergyman finding no better could be made of it, took the advice of the landlord, and retired also. The landlady seemed disposed to hush the matter up, and the maid went to sleep as usual.

It is not the nature of the female tongue to be silent. The landlady, the next day, could not avoid informing her gossips, in confidence, and even some of her guests, of what had happened the preceding evening in her house. The report, so unfavourable to the clergyman, had therefore got out; and coming to the ears of the consistory, was the occasion of calling him before them, to answer to the accusation. The clergyman much alarmed, though conscious of his innocence, bethought himself of applying to the captain, to

extort from his servant-man a confession of the truth, and relieve his character. Accordingly, having overtaken the captain, who had not travelled far during the few succeeding days, addressed him in the following manner:

"Captain," said he, "the affair of that night at the tavern, is like to be of serious consequence to me. For though I am as innocent as the child unborn, yet the presumption is against me, and I am likely to fall under the church censure. It may be sport to you, but it is a matter of moment to me. Now, as sure as God is in heaven, I am innocent; and it must have been the devil, or that Irishman of yours, that made the disturbance."

"My friend, make yourself easy," said the other, "for be the matter as it may, I will take care that Teague shall assume it and bear the blame." The clergyman thanked him, declaring at the same time, that he would not forget him in his prayers. The captain, not so much from any motive of spiritual benefit, as from a real love of humanity and justice, had determined to do him essential service in this affair; and when the clergyman had retired, calling Teague before him, he began in this manner: "From what I know of your disposition, Teague, I have no more doubt than I have of my existence, that it was yourself who made that uproar with the girl at the tavern where we lodged; though I could not but give you credit for your presence of mind in throwing it upon the clergyman. But whether the matter lies with you or him, is of no consequence. You can take it upon you, and lay up treasure in heaven. This clergyman can let you into the benefit of his prayers for this good act, while it will be no harm to you, for your character is already as bad as it can well be."

Teague did not care much; but thought the priest ought to pay a little smart money; for it was a thankless matter to do these things for nothing.—Said the captain, "these people are not the most plenty of money, but I will

advance half a crown towards the accommodation." Teague was satisfied, and ready to acknowledge whatever was demanded of him.

On the day appointed for the trial, Teague made confession of the truth, viz. That being in the kitchen with the girl, and observing her to be a good-looking huzzy——

But suppose we give the speech in his own dialect:— "Master prastes, I persave you are all prastes of de gospel, and can prach as aisy as I can take a chaw of tibacky: now de trut of de story is dis; I was slaping in my bed, and I tought wid myself it was a shame among Christian paple dat a young crature should slape by herself, and have no one to take care of her: so I tought wid myself to go and slape wid her. But as she was aslape, she made a scraich, and dis praste dat is here before you, came in to save her soul; and as de captain, my master, might take offence, and de divil, I am sartain, put it into my head to lay it on de praste. Dis is de trut, as I hope for salvation in de kingdom of purgatory, plase your honours."

On this confession, the clergyman was absolved to the great joy of the presbytery, who considered it as a particular providence that the truth was brought to light.

CHAPTER IX.

A very trivial incident may furnish the subject of important reflection—Presumptive evidence.

It must appear from the incident at the public house, with what caution presumptive testimony is to be admitted. Our criminal law admits it, but lays it down as a rule, that it may be admitted with caution. There is what is called violent presumption; that is, where such circumstances exist as usually attend the fact. Presumptive proof of this

nature is held sufficient to convict. I doubt much, whether reason or experience approve the doctrine. Reason tells us, that there may be all the circumstances that usually attend the fact, and yet without the fact itself. Experience evinces that it has been the case: for we have heard of persons convicted of a capital offence, and yet with their last breath asserting innocence. Nay, in the case of some who have been convicted of homicide, the persons who have been supposed to have been murdered, have afterwards been found alive.

But on abstract principles, a conclusion of certainty cannot be drawn from presumptive proof. Because, in cases of the most violent presumption, there is still a possibility of innocence; and where there is a possibility, there must be a doubt; and will you hang a man, woman, or child, where there is a doubt?

In all cases there ought to be complete proof; because the convicted person is to be completely punished; and the jury, previous to this, must make complete oath of the guilt.

It is the ground of the doctrine of presumptive proof, that where you cannot help suspecting, you ought to be positive;—whereas the just conclusion would be, that where you cannot help suspecting, there you ought to suspect still, but no more.

It would be a curious question in arithmetic, how many uncertainties make a certainty? In mathematics, the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. But these are all angles that are put together; that is, they are things of the same kind; but the greatest angle, and the longest side, will never make a triangle—because there is no inclusion of space. There must be a number of the same kind to make an aggregate whole; so that ten thousand possibilities, probabilities, and violent presumptions, can never constitute a certainty.

Presumptive proof, like the *semi plena probatio*, of the

Roman law, going but half-way towards proof, can never amount to proof at all. For, as the saying is, a miss is as good as a mile, I would therefore recommend to all jurors to take care that, unless the witnesses swear positively to the fact, they do not find a verdict—guilty; because as the current cannot rise higher than the source, so the verdict of the juror ought not to be more absolute than the oath of the witness. In all cases, therefore, short of positive testimony, acquit.

These hints may also be of service to young attorneys, and weak judges; so that honest people may not lose their lives, or be rendered infamous, without full proof of the offence. It is hard enough to suffer when there is full proof; but to be in the power of a juror's or a judge's imagination, comparing and construing circumstances, and weighing possibilities, contingencies, and what might have been, or what might not have been, as the humour, caprice, wheel, or whim of the brain may suggest, is inconsistent with that fair trial, which, in a free government, ought to be enjoyed. Was I a judge or a juror, no one would I condemn, without positive testimony of the fact. For it would not be in my power to restore that fame or life which I took away from the innocent. And if a guilty person should escape, it was none of my look-out; but the business of Providence to furnish proof, if it was intended that man should punish; and if proof is not furnished, let Providence take the matter on himself, and punish the culprit either in this life or in a future state. Invisible things belong to the Omniscient; and it would seem great arrogance in man, to take upon him to decide in cases of uncertainty. I hope, therefore, yet to see the doctrine of presumptive proof, in criminal cases, wholly, in courts of justice, discountenanced. I can declare that, in the course of my experience at the bar, I have had one hung, and several others within an ace of it, who were innocent; and this on the doctrine of presumption and pro-

bability. The one that was hung was a tory case, where the popular clamour was against the man; and light presumption became violent under such a charge.*

CHAPTER X.

Teague wishes to be a preacher—Is dissuaded by the Captain.

The Presbytery sat a day or two at this place on church affairs, and the captain remaining with them, lodged at the same house; Teague, in the mean time, having an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the clergymen, by rubbing down their horses, and other menial services. For it is the national character of the aboriginal Irish, to give fair words; and Teague was not deficient in this address. It appeared to him that theirs was a very easy way of getting a living. Although born and baptized in the church of Rome, his education had been so imperfect, that he had no very clear ideas of the difference between the various denominations of the Christian religion, while his early attachment to his church was very much weakened by having no ghostly instructer for some years past. He did not suppose there was any great harm in engaging in a new employment where the work was light, and the pay not to be despised. So, what with master Prasting, and what is commonly called blarney, he insinuated himself into the good graces of the clergymen, and by affecting now and then to be seen at prayers by himself, and to have a sorrowful countenance, induced them to believe that he was in the first stage of conviction, and likely to become a pious man. Having made

* The author of course speaks ironically. A touch of pleasantry is resorted to, for the purpose of amusing the reader. This chapter is often read in courts of justice against presumptive evidence.

this progress in their good opinion, he ventured to suggest what was the ultimate object of this ambition, viz. the being a candidate for holy orders. The Presbytery, to whom the matter was represented by the individuals more particularly acquainted with him, thought favourably of the proposition. For though his common attainments might not be great, yet if the grace of God had wrought upon him, in his conversion, he might become a valuable man.

The captain having got a hint of this, took the first opportunity of addressing the Presbytery: "Gentlemen," said he, "you are deceived in this ragamuffin. For, notwithstanding all the pretensions he may lately have to religion, you may be well assured that it is all hypocrisy, and that he is no more a convert than my horse."

The Presbytery, suspecting the captain to be a carnal man, and regardless of the ministry, gave little heed to what he said, and seemed disposed to take Teague upon trial.

The captain finding the case to stand thus, and that in spite of all he could do, he was likely to lose his servant, took his usual method of addressing the hopes and fears of Teague himself.

"Teague," said he, "do you know what you are about? You have got into your vagaries once more. You want to preach, do you? Are you apprized of the difficulty of this work? The first thing you will have to do is to take a text; and when that is done, you will have to split it into parts.—They are what are called heads; and these you must divide into firstlys, and secondlys, and thirdlys, and fourthlys, and so on, till you come to the twentiethlys perhaps. Are you furnished with a concordance? Or do you know what a concordance is? Can you find a text to suit your purpose when you want it? Can you explain the Scriptures; the meaning of Daniel's ram, and the he goat, or the seven Trumpets in the Revelations? You are mistaken, if you think your Irish will pass for Hebrew.

"You think it a great honour to preach, do you? It was an honour once; but the thing is become so common, that it is of little consequence now.

"But do you know how it will behoove you to conduct yourself if you take this office upon you? You will have to compose the muscles of your face to greater seriousness than your disposition can afford. You must give up the society of hostlers and kitchen maids. How would it do, Teague, for you to be caught in such company after sermon? You would be brought before the sessions and tossed out of the window of the church. And what would your Catholic friends in Ireland say, if they should hear that you had turned heretic for a little gain? Why, you would be excommunicated, your breed, seed, and generation, and not even allowed to enter purgatory.

"But do you know why these men are so anxious to have you of their mess? The truth of the matter is, they carry on a war with Satan, and they wish to recruit you for the service. Do they give you any bounty money? I am afraid there will be but little of this going. Take my advice, then, and let them settle their own quarrels. It is a silly thing to be drawn into a party, when there is but little to be got by it: Nay, worse than little, for it will be all on the other side. Think you the devil will forget the mischief you do him in this world? When you are preaching and praying, do you think he will not hear all that you say against him? You may rely upon it, there will be enough to give him information; and, as a story never loses in the telling, it is ten to one they will make the matter worse than it was. Take my advice, therefore, and make no enemies while you can help it. Steer through life as smoothly as possible. Keep a good tongue in your mouth, and let those who choose to dispute with Beelzebub, dispute. I never knew any good come of broils and quarrels, especially with low characters. And, to say the truth of it, this

Satan, as they call him, is but a low fellow. Even where he is well disposed, he will do but little good to one. When you go to purgatory, or a worse place, as one day you must, you can expect but little quarter, after abusing him in this world."

We need not add that Teague was convinced, and resolved to remain a bog trotter.

CHAPTER XI.

The author declares himself in favour of having all things of a piece, that is to say, ignorant statesmen, ignorant philosophers, and ignorant ecclesiastics.

THE application made by Teague to be admitted to the ministry, and the simplicity of the ecclesiastics in listening to his overtures, made a great noise through the neighbourhood; inasmuch as the young man laboured under a want of education, and was not qualified by theological reading. But I do not see why it should be thought blameable; provided the matter was not too much hurried, and hastily brought forward. For give him a little time, and he might have been instructed to preach as well as some that I myself have heard: especially if, at first setting out, he had confined himself to historical passages of Scripture; such as the history of Sampson and Gideon, and Barak, and the like: only he must have taken care, that in pronouncing Barak, with the brogue upon his tongue, he did not make it Burke; for that is a patronimic name of his country, and he might inadvertently have fallen into this pronunciation.

I acknowledge, that in the regular churches, such as that of the Presbyterians, there is still kept up some opinion of the necessity of literature. But do we not see that with other denominations, such as the Quakers, the Methodists,

and Anabaptists, it is totally disregarded and thrown out? Because, when human gifts or acquirements are absent, that which is supernatural more evidently appears.

Do not Quakers, and Methodists, and Baptists preach very well? At any rate, they do a great deal of good, and that is the first object of preaching. Whether such sermonists avail themselves most of sense or sound, I will not say; but so it is they do good; and that without the aid of any human learning whatever.

It is very true, that formerly, in the infancy of the church, a knowledge of languages and sciences might be requisite. But the case is quite altered now. The scripture has been well explained, and frequently preached over; every text and context examined, and passages illustrated. The Hebrew roots, so to speak, have been all dug up; and there is scarcely a new etymology to be made. Are there any new doctrines to discover? I should think it impossible. At any rate, I should conceive it unnecessary. There are enough in all conscience: the inventing more, would be like bringing timber to a wood, or coals to Newcastle.

This being the case, I feel myself disposed to agree with those who reject human learning in religious matters altogether; more especially as science is really not the fashion at the present time. For as has been before seen, even in the very province of science itself, it is dispensed with; that of natural philosophy, for instance. In state affairs, ignorance does very well, and why not in church? I am for having all things of a piece; ignorant statesmen, ignorant philosophers, and ignorant ecclesiastics. On this principle, Teague might have done very well as a preacher. But the selfishness of the captain prevailed, and obstructed his advancement.

CHAPTER XII.

A love affair—A challenge—The captain's manner of treating it.

Our worthy knight, and his aspiring bog-trotter, had now been some days, perhaps weeks, in a large village, not necessary to be named; but which, not more than a score of years ago, had been on the frontier. It is not necessary to speak of the reason for this delay; perhaps it was a part of the plan of observation adopted; perhaps something of a personal nature was the cause. Certain it is, that while here, the captain heard a good deal said about a certain Miss Vapour, who was the belle of the place. Her father had made a fortune by the purchase of public securities. A garrison having been at this place, and troops quartered here, he had been employed as an issuing commissary. When the commissioners sat to adjust unliquidated claims, he had a good deal in his power, by vouching for the accounts of the butcher and baker, and woodcutter, and water-drawer, and wagoner, and others of all occupations whatsoever, whose claims were purchased by himself in the mean time; and when the certificates issued in their names, they were to his use. The butcher and baker, no doubt, long before had been paid out of the flesh killed, or bread baked; because it is a good maxim, and a scriptural expression, "Muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn." But the public has a broad back, and a little vouching, by a person interested, is not greatly felt. These certificates, though at first of little value, and issued by the commissioners with the liberality of those who give what is of little worth, yet by the funding acts of the government, having become in value equal to gold and silver, the commissary had a great estate thrown upon

him; so that, from low beginnings, he had become a man of fortune and consequence. His family, and especially the eldest daughter, shared the advantage; for she had become the object of almost all wooers. The captain, though an old bachelor, as we have said, had not wholly lost the idea of matrimony. Happening to be in a circle, one evening, where Miss Vapour was, he took a liking to her, in all respects save one, which was, that she seemed, on her part, to have taken a liking to a certain Mr. Jacko, who was there present. The captain behaved as if he did not observe the preference; but the following day, waiting on the young lady at her father's house, he drew her into conversation, and began to reason with her in the following manner:

"Miss Vapour," said he, "you are a young lady of great beauty, great sense, and fortune still greater than either."

This was a sad blunder in a man of gallantry, but the lady not being of the greatest sensibility of nerve, did not perceive it.

"On my part," said he, "I am a man of years, but a man of some reflection; and it would be much more advisable in you to trust my experience, and the mellowness of my disposition in a state of matrimony, than the vanity and petulance of this young fop Jacko, for whom you show a partiality."

The colour coming into the young lady's face at this expression, she withdrew, and left him by himself. The captain, struck with the rudeness, withdrew also; and after a few, but very long strides, found himself seated in his lodgings.

The next morning, shortly after he had got out of bed, and had just come down stairs, and was buttoning the knees of his breeches, a light, airy-looking young man, with much bowing and civility, entered the hall of the public house, inquiring "if this was not Captain Farrago, to whom he had the honour to address himself," delivered him a paper. On the perusal, it was found to be a challenge from Major Jacko.

The fact was, that Miss Vapour, in order the more to recommend herself to her suitor, had informed him of the language of the captain. The young man, though he had no great stomach for the matter, yet according to the custom of these times, could do no less than challenge. The bearer was what is called his second.

The captain, having read the paper, and pausing a while, said, "Mr. Second, for that I take to be your style and character, is it consistent with reason or common sense, to be the aider or abettor of another man's folly; perhaps the prompter? For it is no uncommon thing with persons to inflame the passions of their friends, rather than allay them. This young woman, for I shall not call her lady, from vanity, or ill-nature, or both, has become a talebearer to her lover, who, I will venture to say, thanks her but little for it; as she has thereby rendered it necessary for him to take this step. You, in the mean time, are not blameless, as it became you to have declined the office, and thereby furnished an excuse to your friend for not complying with the custom. For it would have been a sufficient apology with the lady to have said, although he was disposed to fight, yet he could get no one to be his armour-bearer or assistant. It could have been put upon the footing, that all had such regard for his life, that no one would countenance him in risking it. You would have saved him, by this means, all that uneasiness which he feels at present, lest I should accept this challenge. I am not so unacquainted with human nature, as not to know how disagreeable it must be to think of having a pistol ball lodged in the groin or the left breast; or, to make the best of it, the pan of the knee broke, or the nose cut off, or some wound less than mortal given; disagreeable, especially to a man in the bloom of life, and on the point of marriage with a woman to whose person or fortune he has no exception. I would venture to say, therefore, there will be no great difficulty in appeasing this

Orlando Furioso, that has sent me the challenge. Did you know the state of his mind, you would find it to be his wish at this moment, that I would ease his fears, and make some apology. A very slight one would suffice. I dare say, his resentment against Miss Vapour is not slight, and that he would renounce her person and fortune both, to get quit of the duel. But the opinion of the world is against him, and he must fight. Do you think he has any great gratitude to you for your services on this occasion? He had much rather you had, in the freedom of friendship, given him a kick, when he made application to you; and told him, that it did not become him to quarrel about a woman, who had, probably, consulted but her own vanity, in giving him the information. In that case, he would have been more pleased with you a month hence, than he is at present. I do not know that he has an overstock of sense; nevertheless, he cannot be just such a fool, as not to consider, that you, yourself, may have pretensions to this belle, and be disposed to have him out of the way before you. He must be a fool, indeed, if he does not reflect, that you had much rather see us fight than not; from the very same principle that we take delight in seeing a cock-match, or a horse-race. The spectacle is new, and produces a brisk current of thought through the mind, which is a constituent of pleasure; the absence of all movement giving none at all.

"What do you suppose I must think of you, Mr. Second, I, who have read books, and thought a little on the subject, have made up my mind in these matters, and account the squires that bring challenges from knights, as people of but very small desert? Thinking men have condemned the duel, and laws have prohibited it; but these miscreants still keep it up, by being the conductors of the fluid. My indignation, therefore, falls on such, and I have long ago fixed on the mode of treating them. It is this: a stout, athletic man calls upon me with a challenge in his hand, I knock him down, if I can,

without saying a word. If the natural arm be not sufficient for this purpose, I avail myself of any stone, wooden, or iron instrument that I cast my eye upon, not just to take away his life, if I can help it; but to hit the line as exactly as possible, between actual homicide, and a very bad wound. For, in this case, I should conceive, a battery would be justifiable, or at least excusable, and the fine not great; the bearing a challenge being a breach of the peace, in the first instance. This would be my conduct with a stout athletic man, whom I might think it dangerous to encounter with fair warning, and on equal terms. But in the present case, where—(here the second began to show signs of fear, raising himself, and inclining backwards, opening his eyes wider, and casting a look towards the door)—where," continued the captain, "I have to do with a person of your slender make, I do not adopt that surprise, or use an artificial weapon; but with these fists, which have been used to agricultural employments, I shall very deliberately impress a blow."

The second rising to his feet began to recede a little. "Be under no apprehensions," said the captain, "I will use no unfair method of biting, or gouging, or worse practice, common in what is called rough-and-tumble. Nay, as you appear to be a young man of delicate constitution, I shall only choke a little. You will give me leave to take you by the throat in as easy a manner as possible."

In the mean time the second had been withdrawing towards the door, and the captain, with outstretched arms, in a sideway direction, proceeded to intercept him. In an instant, he was seized by the neck, and the exclamation of murder, which he made at the first grasp, began to die away in hoarse guttural murmurs of one nearly strangled, and labouring for breath. The captain, meaning that he should be more alarmed than hurt, dismissed him with a salutation of his foot on the seat of *honour*, by way of *claude ostium*,

as he went out. "You may be," said he, "a gentleman in the opinion of the world; but you are a low person in mine; and so it shall be done to every one who shall come upon such an errand."

CHAPTER XIII.

The captain feigns a wish that Teague should accept the challenge in his place—But he positively declines the honour—Sends an answer.

Having thus dismissed the secondary man, he called in his servant Teague, and accosted him as follows: "Teague," said he, "you have heretofore discovered an ambition to be employed in some way that would advance your reputation. There is now a case fallen out, to which you are fully competent. It is not a matter that requires the head to contrive, but the hand to execute. The greatest fool is as fit for it as a wise man. It is indeed your greatest blockheads that chiefly undertake it. The knowledge of law, physic, or divinity, is out of the question. Literature and political understanding is useless. Nothing more is necessary than a little resolution of the heart. Yet it is an undertaking which is of much estimation with the rabble, and has a great many on its side to approve and praise it. The females of the world, especially, admire the act, and call it valour. I know you wish to stand well with the ladies. Here is an opportunity of advancing your credit. I have had what is called a challenge sent to me this morning. It is from a certain Jacko, who is a suitor to a Miss Vapour, and has taken offence at an expression of mine respecting him. I wish you to accept the challenge, and fight him for me."

At this proposition, Teague looked wild, and made apology, that he was not much used to boxing or cudgelling,

except, when he had a quarrel, or at a fair at home. "Boxing," said the captain, "you are to fight what is called a duel. You are to encounter him with pistols, and put a bullet through him if you can. It is true, he will have the chance of putting one through you; but in that consists the honour; for where there is no danger, there is no glory. You will provide yourself a second. There is an hostler here at the public house, that is a brave fellow, and will answer the purpose. Being furnished with a second, you will provide yourself with a pair of pistols, powder and ball of course. In the mean time your adversary, notified of your intentions, will do the like. Thus equipped, you will advance to the place agreed upon. The ground will be measured out; ten, seven, or five steps; back to back, and coming round to your place, fire. Or taking your ground, stand still and fire; or it may be, advance and fire as you meet, at what distance you think proper. The rules in this respect are not fixed, but as the parties can agree, or the seconds point out. When you come to fire, be sure you keep a steady hand, and take good aim. Remember that the pistol barrel being short, the powder is apt to throw the bullet up. Your sight, therefore, ought to be about the waistband of his breeches, so that you have the whole length of his body, and his head in the bargain, to come and go upon. It is true, he, in the mean time, will take the same advantage of you. He may hit you about the groin, or the belly. I have known some shot in the thigh, or the leg. The throat also, and the head are in themselves vulnerable. It is no uncommon thing to have an arm broke, or a splinter struck off the nose, or an eye shot out; but as in that case the ball mostly passes through the brain, and the man being dead at any rate, the loss of sight is not felt."

As the captain spoke, Teague seemed to feel in himself every wound which was described; the ball hitting him, now in one part, and now in another. At the last words, it

seemed to pass through his head, and he was half dead, in imagination. Making a shift to express himself, he gave the captain to understand, that he could by no means undertake the office. "What!" said the captain; "you, whom nothing would serve, some time ago, but to be a legislator, or philosopher, or preacher, in order to gain fame, will now decline a business for which you are qualified! This requires no knowledge of finances, no reading of natural history, or any study of the fathers. You have nothing more to do than keep a steady hand and a good eye.

"In the early practice of this exercise, I mean the combat of the duel, it was customary to exact an oath of the combatants, before they entered the lists, that they had no enchantments, or power of witchcraft, about them. Whether you should think it necessary to put him to his *voir dire*, on this point, I shall not say; but I am persuaded, that on your part, you have too much honour to make use of spells, or undue means, to take away his life or save your own. You will leave all to the chance of fair shooting. One thing you will observe, and which is allowable in this matter; you will take care not to present yourself with a full breast, but angularly, and your head turned round over the left shoulder, like a weather-cock. For thus a smaller surface being presented to an adversary, he will be less likely to hit you. You must throw your legs into lines parallel, and keep them one directly behind the other. Thus you will stand like a sail hauled close to the wind. Keep a good countenance, a sharp eye, and a sour look; and if you feel any thing like a colic, or a palpitation of the heart, make no noise about it. If the ball should take you in the gills, or the gizzard, fall down as decently as you can, and die like a man of honour."

It was of no use to urge the matter; the Irishman was but the more opposed to the proposition, and utterly refused to be *after* fighting in any such manner. The captain, find-

ing this to be the case, dismissed him to clean his boots and spurs, and rub down his horse in the stable.

On reflection, it seemed advisable to the captain to write an answer to the card which Colonel or Major Jacko, or whatever his title may have been, had sent him this morning. It was as follows:

"Sir,—I have two objections to this duel matter. The one is, lest I should hurt you; and the other is, lest you should hurt me. I do not see any good it would do me to put a bullet through any part of your body. I could make no use of you when dead for any culinary purpose, as I would a rabbit or a turkey. I am no cannibal to feed on the flesh of men. Why then shoot down a human creature, of which I could make no use? A buffalo would be better meat. For though your flesh may be delicate and tender; yet it wants that firmness and consistency which takes and retains salt. At any rate, it would not be fit for long sea voyages. You might make a good barbacue, it is true, being of the nature of a raccoon or an opossum; but people are not in the habit of barbacuing any thing human now. As to your hide, it is not worth taking off, being little better than that of a year old colt.

"It would seem to me a strange thing to shoot at a man that would stand still to be shot at; inasmuch as I have been heretofore used to shoot at things flying, or running, or jumping. Were you on a tree now, like a squirrel, endeavouring to hide yourself in the branches, or like a raccoon, that after much eyeing and spying, I observe at length in the crotch of a tall oak, with boughs and leaves intervening, so that I could just get a sight of his hinder parts, I should think it pleasurable enough to take a shot at you. But as it is, there is no skill or judgment requisite either to discover, or take you down.

"As to myself, I do not much like to stand in the way of any thing harmful. I am under apprehensions you might

hit me. That being the case, I think it most advisable to stay at a distance. If you want to try your pistols, take some object, a tree, or a barn door, about my dimensions. If you hit that, send me word, and I shall acknowledge that if I had been in the same place, you might also have hit me.*

JOHN FARRAGO,
Late Captain, Penn. Militia.

MAJOR VALENTINE JACKO, *U. S. Army.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

Containing a grave dissertation on the origin and use of the duel.

THE captain was a good man, but unacquainted with the world. His ideas were drawn chiefly from what may be called the old school; the Greek and Roman notions of things. The combat of the duel was to them unknown; though it seems strange, that a people who were famous for almost all arts and sciences, should have remained ignorant of its use. I do not conceive how, as a people, they could exist without it: But so it was, they actually were without the knowledge of it. For we do not find any trace of this custom in the poets or historians of all antiquity.

I do not know at what period, precisely, the custom was introduced, or to whom it was owing; but omitting this disquisition, we content ourselves with observing, that it has produced as great an improvement in manners, as the discovery of the load-stone and mariner's compass has in navigation. Not that I mean to descant at full length on the

* This admirable satire has been often published in almanacs, and in newspapers, both in England and this country, but without referring to the source whence it was derived.

valuable effects of it; but simply to observe, that it is a greater aid to government than the alliance of the church and state itself. If Dr. Warburton had had leisure, I could wish he had written a treatise upon it. Some affect to ridicule it, as carrying to a greater length small differences, than the aggravations may justify. As for instance, a man is angry enough with you to give you a slap in the face; but the custom says, he must shoot you through the head. I think the smaller the aggravation, the nicer the sense of honour. The heaviest mind will resent a gross affront; but to kill a man where there is no affront at all, shows a great sensibility. It is immaterial whether there is or is not an injury, provided the world thinks there is; for it is the opinion of mankind we are to consult. It is a duty which we owe them, to provide for their amusement. *Non nascimur nobis ipsis;* we are not born for ourselves, but for others. *Decorum pro patria mori;* it is a becoming thing to die for one's country; and shall it not also be accounted honourable to throw one's life away for the entertainment of a few particular neighbours and acquaintances? It is true, the tears that will be shed upon your grave will not make the grass grow; but you will have the consolation, when you leave the world, to have fallen in the bed of honour.

It is certainly a very noble institution, that of the duel; and it has been carried to very great perfection in some respects. Nevertheless, I would submit it to the public, whether still farther improvements might not be made in the laws and regulations of it. For instance, could it not be reduced nearer to an equality of chances, by proportioning the-caliber, or bore of the pistol; the length of the barrel, also, to the size of the duellist who holds it; or by fixing the ratio of distance in proportion to the bulk of combatants? To explain myself: When I am to fight a man of small size, I ought to have a longer pistol than my adversary,

because my mark is smaller; or I ought to be permitted to come nearer to him. For it is altogether unfair that men of unequal bulk should fire at equal distances, and with equal calibers. The smaller size multiplied by the larger space, or larger pistol, would equal the larger size multiplied by the smaller space, or smaller pistol. If this amendment of the duel laws should be approved by men of honour, let it be added to the code.

CHAPTER XV.

Proposal of the Indian treaty maker—The chapter very near ending in homicide.

In the edition of Don Quixotte by the Spanish academy, a map is prefixed tracing, as the result of great research and critical examination, the exact line of march of the valiant Manchegan. The attempt is far from being successful, yet it is quite ingenious. I dare say the travels of Hudibras might be traced with equal certainty. In this work care has been taken to afford an ample field of research for the curious inquirer as to the places visited by Captain Farrago, and the time occupied in his travels. It is enough for the present to say, that not long after what has been related in the last chapter, being at a certain place, he was accosted by a stranger in the following manner:

"Captain," said he, "I have heard of a young man in your service who talks Irish. Now, sir, my business is that of an Indian treaty maker, and am on my way with a party of kings, and half-kings, to the commissioners, to hold a treaty. My king of the Kickapoos, who was a Welch blacksmith, took sick by the way, and is dead: I have heard of this lad of yours, and could wish to have him a while to supply his place. The treaty will not last longer

than a couple of weeks; and as the government will probably allow three or four thousand dollars for the treaty, it will be in our power to make it worth your while to spare him for that time."

"Your king of the Kickapoos," said the captain, "what does that mean?"—Said the stranger, "it is just this: You have heard of the Indian nations to the westward, that occasionally make war upon the frontier settlements. It has been a policy of government to treat with these, and distribute goods. Commissioners are appointed for that purpose. Now you are not to suppose that it is an easy matter to catch a real chief, and bring him from the woods; or if at some expense one was brought, the goods would go to his use; whereas, it is much more profitable to hire substitutes, and make chiefs of our own. And as some unknown gibberish is necessary, to pass for an Indian language, we generally make use of Welch, or Low Dutch, or Irish; or pick up an ingenious fellow here and there, who can imitate a language by sounds of his own in his mouth and throat. But we prefer one who can speak a real tongue, and give more for him. We cannot afford you a great deal at this time for the use of your man; because it is not a general treaty, where twenty or thirty thousand dollars are appropriated for the purpose of holding it; but an occasional, or what we call a running treaty, by way of brightening the chain, and holding fast friendship. The commissioners will doubtless be glad to see us, and procure from government an allowance for the treaty. For the more treaties, the more use for commissioners. The business must be kept up, and treaties made, if there are none of themselves. My Piankasha, and Choctaw chiefs, are very good fellows; the one of them a Scotch pedlar that talks the Erse; the other has been some time in Canada, and has a little broken Indian, I know not of what language; but has been of great service in assisting to teach the rest some Indian customs

and manners. I have had the whole of them for a fortnight past under my tuition, teaching them war songs and dances, and to make responses at the treaty. If your man is tractable, I can make him a Kickapoo in about nine days. A breech-clout and leggins that I took off the blacksmith that died, I have ready to put on him. He must have part of his head shaved, and painted, with feathers on his crown; but the paint will rub off, and the hair grow in a short time, so that he can go about with you again."

"It is a very strange affair," said the captain. "Is it possible that such deception can be practised in a new country? It astonishes me that the government does not detect such imposition."

"The government," said the Indian treaty man, "is at a great distance. It knows no more of Indians than a cow does of Greek. The legislature hears of wars and rumours of wars, and supports the executive in forming treaties. How is it possible for men who live remote from the scene of action, to have adequate ideas of the nature of Indians, or the transactions that are carried on in their behalf? Do you think the one half of those savages that come to treat, are real representatives of the nation? Many of them are not savages at all; but weavers and pedlars, as I have told you, picked up to make kings and chiefs. I speak of those particularly that come trading down to inland towns, or the metropolis. I would not communicate these mysteries of our trade, were it not that I confide in your good sense, and have occasion for your servant."

"It is a mystery of iniquity," said the captain. "Do you suppose that I would countenance such a fraud upon the public?"—"I do not know," said the other; "it is a very common thing for men to speculate, now-a-days. If you will not, another will. A hundred dollars might as well be in your pocket as another man's. I will give you that for the use of your servant for a week or two, and say no more about it."

"It is an idea new to me entirely," said the captain, "that Indian princes, whom I have seen escorted down as such, were no more than trumpery, disguised, as you mention. That such should be introduced to polite assemblies, and have the honour to salute the fair ladies with a kiss, the greatest beauties thinking themselves honoured by having the salutation of a sovereign."—"It is so," said the other; "I had a bricklayer once, whom I passed for a Chippewa; and who has dined with clubs, and sat next the president. He was blind of an eye, and was called blind Sam by the traders. I had given it out that he was a great warrior, and had lost his eye by an arrow in war with a rival nation. These things are now reduced to a system; and it is so well known to those who are engaged in the traffic, that we think nothing of it."

"How the devil," said the captain, "do you get speeches made, and interpret them so as to pass for truth?"—"That is an easy matter," said the other; "Indian speeches are nearly all alike. You have only to talk of burying hatchets under large trees, kindling fires, brightening chains; with a demand, at the latter end, of rum to get drunk on."

"I much doubt," said the captain, "whether treaties that are carried on in earnest are of any great use."—"Of none at all," said the other; "especially as the practice of giving goods prevails; because this is an inducement to a fresh war. This being the case, it can be no harm to make a farce of the whole matter; or rather a profit of it, by such means as I propose to you, and have pursued myself."

"After all," said the captain, "I cannot but consider it as a kind of contraband and illicit traffic; and I must be excused from having any hand in it. I shall not betray your secret, but I shall not favour it. It would ill become me, whose object in riding about in this manner, is to impart just ideas on all subjects, to share in such ill-gotten gain."

The Indian treaty-man, finding it in vain to say more, withdrew.

The captain, apprehending that he might not yet drop his designs upon the Irishman, but be tampering with him out of doors, should he come across him, sent for Teague. For he well knew that, should the Indian treaty-man get the first word of him, the idea of making him a king would turn his head, and it would be impossible to prevent his going with him.

Teague coming in, said the captain to him, "Teague, I have discovered in you, for some time past, a great spirit of ambition, which is, doubtless, commendable in a young person; and I have checked it only in cases where there was real danger, or apparent mischief. There is now an opportunity of advancing yourself, not so much in the way of honour, as profit. But profit brings honour, and is, indeed, the most substantial support of it. There has been a man here with me, that carries on a trade with the Indians, and tells me that red-headed scalps are in great demand with them. If you could spare yours, he would give a good price for it. I do not well know what use they make of this article, but so it is, the traders find their account in it. Probably they dress it with the hairy side out, and make tobacco pouches for the chiefs, when they meet in council. It saves dying; and, besides, the natural red hair of a man may, in their estimation, be superior to any colour they can give by art. The taking off the scalp will not give much pain, it is so dexterously done by them with a crooked knife they have for that purpose. The mode of taking off the scalp is this: You lie down on your face; a warrior puts his feet upon your shoulders, collects your hair in his left hand, and drawing a circle with the knife in his right, makes the incision, and with a sudden pull, separates it from the head, giving, in the mean time, what is called the scalp yell. The thing is done in such an instant, that the pain is scarcely felt. He offered me an hundred dollars, if I would have it taken off for his use; giving me directions, in the mean time, how to stretch it and dry it on a hoop. I told

him, No! it was a perquisite of your own, and you might dispose of it as you thought proper. If you choose to dispose of it, I had no objections; but the bargain should be of your own making, and the price such as should please yourself. I have sent for you to give you a hint of this chapman, that you may have a knowledge of his wish to possess the property, and ask accordingly. It is probable you may bring him up to a half Johannes more by holding out a little. But I do not think it would be advisable to lose the bargain. An hundred dollars for a little hairy flesh is a great deal. You will trot a long time before you make that with me. He will be with you probably to propose the purchase. You will know him when you see him: he is a tall-looking man, with leggins on, and has several Indians with him going to a treaty. He talked to me something of making you a king of the Kickapoos, after the scalp is off; but I would not count on that so much; because words are but wind, and promises are easily broken. I would advise you to make sure of the money in the first place, and take chance for the rest."

I have seen among the prints of Hogarth, some such expression of countenance as that of Teague at this instant; who, as soon as he could speak, but with a double brogue on his tongue, began to intimate his disinclination to the traffic. The hair of his scalp, itself, in the mean time, had risen in opposition to it.—"Dear master, will you trow me into ridicule, and de blessed salvation of my life, and all dat I have in de world, to be trown like a dog to de savages, and have my flesh torn off my head to give to dese wild bastes to make a napsack to carry deir parates and tings in, for an hundred dollars or de like? It shall never be said that de hair of de O'Regans made mackeseens for a wild Indian to trat upon. I would sooner trow my own head, hair and all in de fire, dan give it to dese paple to smoke wid out of deir long pipes."

"If this be your determination," said the captain, "it will behoove you to keep yourself somewhat close; and while we remain at this public house, avoid any conversation with the chapman or his agents, should they come to tamper with you. For it is not improbable, while they are keeping you in talk, proposing to make you a Kickapoo chief and the like, they may snatch the scalp off your head, and you not be the wiser for it."

Teague thought the caution good, and resolving to abide by it, retired to the kitchen. The maid at this time, happening to want a log of wood, requested Teague to cut it for her. Taking the axe, accordingly, and going out, he was busy chopping, with his head down; while, in the mean time, the Indian treaty man had returned with one in Indian dress, who was the chief of the Killinoos, or at least passed for such; and whom he brought as having some recruiting talents, and might prevail with Teague to elope and join the company.

"I suppose," said the Indian treaty man, "you are the waiter of the captain who lodges here at present." Teague, hearing a man speak, and lifting up his head, saw the leggins on the one, and the Indian dress on the other; and with a kind of involuntary effort threw the axe directly from him at the Killinoo. It missed him, but about an inch, and fell behind. Teague, in the mean time, raising a shout of desperation, was fixed on the spot, and his locomotive faculties suspended; so that he could neither retreat nor advance; but stood still, like one enchained or enchanted for the moment. The king of the Killinoos, in the mean time, drew his tomahawk, and prepared for battle.

The captain, who was reading at a front window, hearing the shout; looked about and saw what was going on at the woodpile. "Stop villain," said he to the king of the Killinoos, "you are not to take that scalp yet, however much you may value it. He will not take an hundred dollars for it,

nor five hundred, though you make him king of the Kickapoos, or any thing else. It is no trifling matter to have the ears slit in tatters, and the nose run through with a bodkin, and a goose-quill stuck across; so that you may go about your business—you will get no king of the Kickapoos here."

Under cover of this address of the captain, Teague had retired to the kitchen, and ensconced himself behind the rampart of the maid. The Indian treaty man, and the Killinoo chief, finding the measure hopeless, withdrew, and turned their attention, it is to be supposed, to some other quarter to find a king of the Kickapoos, while the captain, after paying his score, set out on his travels.

CHAPTER XVI.

In which the captain is commended for not countenancing a fraud upon the public, although he might have profited by it.

The captain was certainly to be commended in declining to countenance the imposition of making Teague a Kickapoo chief. Had he been disposed to adventure in a contraband trade of this kind, he might have undertaken it as a principal, and not as furnishing an assistant only. He could have passed Teague for a chief, and himself for an interpreter. He might pretend to have conducted this prince from a very distant nation, and that he had been several moons in travelling, and wanted, the Lord knows how much goods for his people, that otherwise would come to war. By this means, the captain would have taken the whole emolument of the treaty, and not have been put off with a small share of the profit which another made by it.

I should like to have seen Teague in an Indian dress, come to treat with the commissioners. It would be necessary for

him only to talk Irish, which he might pass for the Shawanese, or other language. The captain could have interpreted in the usual words on these occasions.

The policy of treating with the Indians is very good; because it takes off a great deal of loose merchandise, that might otherwise lie upon our hands, and cuts away superfluities from finances of the government; at the same time, as every fresh treaty lays the foundation of a new war, it will serve to check the too rapid growth of the settlements. The extremities of a government, like the arm or ancle of an individual, are the parts at which blood is to be let.

Struck with the good effects of treating with the savages, and that our wise men who conduct affairs, pursue the policy, I have been led to wonder, that the agricultural societies have not proposed treaties with the wolves and bears, that they might not clandestinely invade our sheep and pig folds. This might be done by sending messages to the several ursine and vulpine nations, and calling them to a council-fire, to which four or five hundred wagon loads of beef should be sent, and distributed. If it should be said, that this would restrain them no longer from their prey than while they continued to be satiated, the same might be said of the Potowatamies, or other Indian nations; and yet we see that those at the head of our affairs think it prudent to negotiate with them.

A bear and a wolf treaty might seem an odd thing at first, but we should soon come to be accustomed to it. I should be sorry abuses should prevail, by treaty-making men passing rough water dogs for bears, or mastiffs for wolves, upon our secretaries at war, or subordinate commissioners; which might be done as in the case of the savages, where it is pretended that some tribes had not been at the general treaty, and a chief is sent to represent them and to get goods.

If our traders go amongst the wolves in consequence of a treaty, I could wish they would check themselves in the

introduction of spirituous liquors. A drunken wolf, or bear, would be a dangerous animal. It may be thought that a bear or wolf chief would not get drunk, as it would be setting a bad example to their people; but I have seen Indian kings lying on the earth drunk, and exposing their nakedness, like Noah to Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and if Indians, that are a sort of human creatures, act thus, what might we not expect from a poor brute wolf or bear?

If treaties with the wolves and bears should be found to succeed, it might not be amiss to institute them also with the foxes. This is a sagacious animal, and destructive to ducks and other fowls. It would be a great matter to settle a treaty with them, which might be done at the expense of nine or ten thousand dollars laid out in goods.

CHAPTER XVII.

The captain comes to a town, takes lodgings, and has an opportunity of proving his benevolence, as well as good sense, in a delicate matter.

A FEW days after what has been related, our hero arrived at a town where he proposed to pass some time; he had his horse put out to pasture in the neighbourhood, and for the sake of economy took private lodgings, in one of those respectable families which contrive to increase their means of comfortable living by taking a few boarders. The first day at dinner, his attention was arrested by the appearance of a young man who sat at the table, but could not be said to dine with them; for except a little water and a bit of bread, he ate or drank nothing; and though sometimes addressed, he made no answer. There was a settled melancholy in his countenance, and he often sighed deeply. He had been in this house six weeks, and had behaved uniformly

in the same manner. In the evening he would walk by himself till midnight. Whence he came, or what was his object, no one knew. He had bespoke a back room, and wished to have one where there was but little light; also, that a little water, and a bit of bread might be sent when he should require it. The landlady not choosing to have a person in the house who was unwilling to be seen, declined the circumstance of sending in provisions to his room; but thought it proper he should come to table; he did so, but entered into no conversation, though much pains was taken to engage him. He had paid his boarding regularly, and did not seem to be in want of money. This was the account given by the family, when the young man retired from dinner.

The captain's curiosity was much excited; for being a philanthropic man, he found himself interested in the history of this person. Taking an opportunity that very evening, when the young man was walking in the back porch, he joined him, and with the bluntness of a plain man, accosted him.—"Sir," said he, "it is from no motive of vain curiosity, that I thus address you. It is from a disposition to know and alleviate your griefs. For it is evident to me that something hangs heavy on your mind. I am a man, as you see, advanced in life, and have had some experience. It is possible it may be in my power to say or do something that may serve you; at least it is my disposition to soothe your melancholy. If it should be an unfortunate murder, the guilt of which lies upon your mind, you will find no accuser in me; I shall preserve a secret obtained in this manner. Probably it may have been a duel, and with such alleviating circumstances, that though the law would take hold of it, humanity will excuse."

The young man, finding the charge of murder, or suspicion of it, ready to be fixed upon him, spoke. Said he, "I am no murderer, but a murdered man myself. I am in love

with a young woman of the most celestial beauty, but of a cruel heart."

"'The beauty may be more in your brain, than in her face," said the captain; "for, as the poet says,

> 'The Lunatic, the Lover, and the Poet,
> Are of imagination all compact;
> One sees more devils than vast hell can hold;
> That is the madman: The other, all as frantic,
> Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.'

"I am not unacquainted with the nature of this passion; and have seen a gipsey myself, in my time, that has had dominion over me. Perhaps I may have been carried to as much extravagance as other people; and therefore am a proper person to advise against it. A principal source of my extravagance, was an opinion that the jade who had hold of my affections at the time, would pity me when she heard of the pain which her beauty gave me; that she would be afraid I would hang myself for her sake; that she would come to soothe and caress me, in order to prevent it. Far from it. My uneasiness was the proof of her power to wound; and the more distress I felt, the greater credit to her beauty. She would not have lost a sigh which she caused me for any consideration. And so it must be with every woman; because self-love induces it. Hanging is the last thing they would be at. If they could get the lover brought to this, they are then at the height of fame. It falls but to the lot of one here and there to have a man drown himself for her; and when it does happen, it makes such a noise that all covet it.

"I would venture to say, that this female whom you fast and pray about so much, would be very unwilling to breathe the soul into you, were it once out. Instead of fasting, she is eating; and while you sigh in the night, she snores—that is, if ladies snore, of which I am not certain.

"You have an idea, perhaps, that you may bend her by

your perseverance. That is a mistake. A man that once comes to this state of sighing, and dying, has but little chance; because he has surrendered himself; and there is nothing more to be won. Were there any possibility of succeeding, it would be by first conquering yourself; dismissing all idea of her partiality for you; for it is owing to this secret vanity, and self-flattery, that you still pursue. Absolute despair is the first step towards the cure of love. It is either drowning or curing with you at present. As you have not drowned yourself, you are in a fair way to be cured.

"I know very well how you missed the matter. You appear to be a young man of great sensibility of feeling; and I presume made your addresses with great refinement of thought and manners. You talked to her of flames and darts, and flowers, and roses; read poetry in the mean time, and thought a great deal of Phillis, and Amaryllis; and entertained her with names and incidents in romances, and sung and recited soft love songs of Amanda, and Phebe, and Colin; whereas your way was to have talked careless nonsense, and sung such songs as Paddy Kelly, and Tristram Shandy-O; and told her stories of girls that had ran off with pedlars, or gone a campaigning with the soldiers. These ideas are light and frolicsome, and co-natural to springing love. Hence it is that men of but loose and irregular education succeed better with the fair than scholars that are learned in the classics.

"But to bring the matter to a point, the true way is to get another mistress; and profit by your experience with the first. No more of sighing and dying in the case; but singing, and laughing, and jumping like a young fox. Throw out some hints that you would rather have a mistress than a wife; but let it be done in so delicate a manner, that, though she understands you, she is not obliged to do it. Bring her to this suspicion, and I warrant you, her whole

study will be to entrap you into matrimony. For it is natural for the human mind, when it observes a great security and confidence in another, to imagine there must be some ground for it. It will argue a consciousness, on your part, of having a good or better in your power. It will impress her with the same idea; and imagination governs the world."

Now, when the mind is bent upon any object, it is relieved by the conversation of those who understand it; and, as it were, dissolved with them in the same ideas. The young man was pleased with the conversation of the captain, and seemed cheered; agreed to join the family, and be sociable. By degrees he became so; and what by the conversation of the captain, sometimes explaining and sometimes ridiculing the passion of love; and the young ladies of the family, in the mean time, rallying him on his weakness, he came a little to his senses, (for love is a frenzy,) and began to behave like a common man. For it having come out now, that love was the cause of his distress and singularity of conduct, some pitied him, and others rallied it with good humour and philanthropy. It had, however, become the general topic in the family, and was carried down to the kitchen among the servants.

Teague, hearing of it, took it into his head that he must be in love too; and counterfeiting a demure look, and absence of mind, and walking by himself, and pretending to live on spare diet, as he had heard the young man that was in love did, he wished to have it understood that his mind was under the dominion of the same passion. This, being observed, was represented to the captain; who, being at a loss to know what was the matter, called Teague, and began to interrogate him. The bog trotter, with seeming reluctance, acknowledged that it was love.—"You in love!" said the captain; "you great bear! with whom are you in love?"

"Well, dear master, if I must tell you de troot, its wid dat swate craythur I'm in love, dat has de black hair and

de fair face, and her name is Miss Sally, in de house dere. She is as fair as de wool or de snow, and gives me de colic and de heart-burn every time dat I look at her fair eyes; save her soul, but I love her as I do de very food dat I ate, or de clothes upon my back."

Miss Sally, a very pretty girl, the eldest daughter of the landlady—who, by the by, I mean the landlady, was a widow, and who had two daughters and a niece with her; the handsomest of whom was this Miss Sally, with whom Teague had become enamoured. For simple and ignorant nature will fasten on beauty, as well as the most instructed in the principles of taste.

The captain having been troubled, heretofore, with the pretensions of this valet, in wishing to be a member of the legislature, a philosopher, a preacher, and now a lover, thought he had now a good opportunity of repressing his presumption for the future. There was a young man, a brother in the family, who had been some time in the service, as a lieutenant, and had leave of absence at this time, on a visit to his mother and sisters. The captain well knew, that being in the pride and heat of youth, he would consider Teague's advances to his sister as an insult upon the family, and chastise him accordingly. With this view, counterfeiting every possible disposition to serve the bog trotter, the captain recommended to him to make a confidant of the brother, and endeavour to gain his interest with the sister.

Accordingly, one morning when the officer was in his chamber, Teague made his approach; and composing his woe-begone countenance as well as he could, and explaining the cause of it, solicited his interest with the lady.

There was a cowskin in the corner of the room, which the lieutenant had used in riding. Seizing this hastily, he made an attack upon the person of the lover, in a manner far beyond what was decent or moderate. The valet re-

treating with loud outcries, made complaint to the captain; who gave him to understand, that as this outrage was committed by his intended brother-in-law, it must be considered in the nature of a family quarrel, and he could not interfere.

The advances of Teague became the subject of conversation in the family, and of much mirth and laughter. The young man who had been in the state of melancholy, before described, and had been cheered a little, was now in a great degree cured by the imitation of the valet. For ridicule is more a cure for love than reason. It is better to make the patient laugh than think.

The captain, remaining but a short time after this occurrence, and finding nothing sufficiently interesting to detain him, sent for his horse, and accompanied as usual by Teague, set out, taking the direction of the older settlements, instead of returning on his steps towards the frontier.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Containing some reflections suggested by the incidents related in the last chapter, and well worthy the attention of young persons in love affairs.

The young man that we have seen so deeply in love, was of a handsome personal appearance, and of an eye and physiognomy that indicated sensibility and understanding; and yet it is probable that the female of whom he was so much enamoured, may have been both homely, and destitute of good mental qualities. Whence could a repulse in this case happen? From a thousand causes. We will specify some of them. The very circumstance of his being beyond her first hopes, may have put him beyond her last wishes. A female wooed by a man her superior, may be led to think she has still a chance of better; and that there must be dia-

monds in her hair, or some hidden advantage on her part, of which she was herself ignorant; otherwise such advances would not be made to her; or she may apprehend some defect on the part of the lover, of which he is conscious; otherwise, he would not stoop beneath his natural expectations.

It is possible the Amanda may not have been of the same class and quality with himself. This would of itself account for the repulse. Should the eagle come from the firmament, and make his advances to the pheasant, he would find himself unsuccessful; for the brown bird would prefer a lover of her own species; or should the reindeer, which is a most beautiful creature, woo a frog, the croaking animal would recede into the marsh, and solace itself with a paramour of its own choosing. When, therefore, unexperienced young persons place their affections on an object, and do not find a suitable return, they ought to save their pride, and make the inference, that they had descended from their element, and fastened on an animal unworthy of their notice.

CHAPTER XIX.

The strange adventure of the member of the Cincinnati Society—A ludicrous mistake, which procures a good supper—Of aristocratic distinctions in general.

It was about an hour before sunset, that the captain fell in company with one who had the Cincinnati eagle at his breast, and riding on together, put up at an inn.*

* In this satire, the author handles, with his usual effective wit, the offensive attempt at establishing a hereditary aristocracy. It is perhaps the only thing in which the acts of Washington cannot be entirely approved; having yielded, in this instance, to the wishes of his brother officers, for the establishment of a military order,

The landlady and the servants, having never seen the badge before, wondered at the effigy of the eagle, and the ribbon at which it was pendant. Interrogating Teague, who had come in company, and whom they took to be a common servant to both, or at least acquainted with the affairs of either, what was the meaning of that bird, or what bird it was, that the gentleman had at his breast?—Teague knew as little about it as they did; but, unwilling to be thought ignorant, took upon him to inform them. "It is," said he, "a goose; and de meaning is, dat de gintleman would ate a goose, if you would get one roasted dis avening, for his anour to ate wid de captain, who is my master; for we have ate nothing all day long, and a roasted goose, wid a shoulder of mutton, a pace of poark, and bafe, and cabbage, and de like, would be a very good chack for a fasting stomach. So, God save your soul, dear honey, and make haste, and get a goose knocked down and put to de fire, to keep their anours from starving, and go to bed in a good humour, when they have drank a cup of ale or a mug of cider after de goose; and, bless your soul, dear honey, let it be a good, large, fat goose, dat dere may be a rib or a wing left, dat a poor sarvant may have someting to ate, at de same time. De gintleman was very right to hold out a token, like de sign of a tavern-kaper, wid a goose, or a pigeon, or a turkey, dat paple may know what he wants, and not be after de trouble of asking whether he would choose roast bafe and parates, or poark and parsnips, my dear honey."

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transmissible to the eldest son. Although, modified from its original plan, it is still a failure, the public voice in this country having disapproved of it. The author shows himself here to be no aristocrat, yet no leveller: he was in favour of giving the just reward to merit, but only where it was the personal right of the individual, from having fairly earned that reward, by worth and public service, civil or military. But he was not for placing the latter above the former.

The landlady appeared to be distressed, having no goose about the house. But sending out to her neighbours, she made shift to get a couple of ducks, which Teague acknowledged would be a very good substitute. Supper being ordered, these were served up, with an apology from the landlady, that she had not been able to procure a goose; which she hoped the gentleman with the ribbon would excuse, as she was informed that a roasted goose was so much to his taste.—"A roasted goose to my taste," said the officer; "what reason have you to think that a roasted goose is so much my choice? Surely, madam, you cannot mean wit, or to insinuate that I myself am a goose? For one animal preys not upon another; the maxim is, dog will not eat dog. I cannot therefore be a goose if I eat one."

Here the landlady explained her meaning, giving the information she had received from the servant. The captain was highly incensed, and would have called him in, and given a proof of his displeasure stronger than words, had not the officer interfered; declaring that though it was an eagle, not a goose, that he wore at his breast, yet he was not dissatisfied at the mistake, inasmuch as it had brought a couple of good ducks to the table, a fowl of which he was particularly fond.

This incident, in itself laughable, led the officer to relate the trouble he had had with a clergyman who had made a worse mistake than this, taking the eagle for a graven image, contrary to the injunction of the decalogue, which prohibits the making any such representation for the purpose of worship, as he alleged this to be. In answer to the clergyman, he had alleged the improbability that he who had been in the service so many years, at a distance from church, or church worship, except when a deistical chaplain came in the way, should think so much of religion, as to have any worship at all; much less to have become superstitious, and to wear an image at his bosom.

The truth was, that he worshipped any god, true or false, very little; at least said few or no prayers, on such occasions; and was very far from being an idolater, and paying adoration to a gold or silver image; that this was nothing more than a hieroglyphic, being the effigies of the bald eagle, which is a native of America, and designates the cause for which her soldiery had fought; in the same manner as the eagle was the standard of the Roman legion; or the lion and the unicorn are the arms of England, or the thistle that of Scotland. That the emblem of the American bald eagle had, on these principles, been chosen by the Cincinnati for their badge; of which society he was a member, and wore this device, not venerating it as the image of any bird or beast whatsoever.

The clergyman admitted that, in strictness, this symbol might not be a graven image, as the term would intend engraving on wood or metal, with the point of an instrument; and under this mental reservation, the wearer might save himself in saying that it was not a graven image: but it was at least a molten one, which comes within the meaning of the prohibition; being the representation of a fowl, and doubtless for the purpose of idolatry. For what else could be the use or meaning of it? It was not a common brooch, used as a ligament to the shirt or coat; and it was unworthy of a man to suppose it could be worn merely for ornament; boys and petit-maitres delighting in these things, but no one else. It could not be any sort of time-piece, worn for the purpose of ascertaining distance. In fact, it was the portrait of a bird, the signal of some heathen deity; as the cock was sacred to Esculapius, the owl to Minerva, the peacock to Juno, and the dove to Venus. The eagle was sacred to Jupiter; and it was most probable, that it was in honour of this false god, that the image was worn.

It answered no end to reason with the ecclesiastic; for he grew but the more enraged, and insisted that it was an

idol; showing from some texts of scripture, that in the last times idolaters were to spring up; and that this society, which the Cincinnati instituted, might be the Gog and Magog spoken of in the Apocalypse.

Said the captain, "It was natural enough for the clergyman to make this deduction; as in maintaining the cause of truth against Pagans, he is led to dwell much on the subject of idolatry. But for my part, the principal objection that lies with me, against your institution, is that which lies against all partial institutions whatsoever; they cut men from the common mass, and alienate their affections from the whole, concentering their attachments to a particular point and interest. A circumstance of this kind is unfavourable to general philanthropy, giving a temporary and artificial credit to those who are of the body, amongst themselves; so that while some lend characters, others borrow; and the individuals do not stand on the natural basis of their own merit. On this principle, I do not much approve of clubs and societies, unless in the case of some humane or charitable institution; or for the purpose of carrying on some beneficial work or improvement. I do not know that in your convening annually together, you have any object in view of this nature. I have not heard of any bridges you have built, or canals dug, or locks made for the purpose of facilitating navigation. I don't see of what use your institution is, unless it be, that your pronouncing an oration now and then, may he favourable to eloquence. But of this I much doubt, as such abstract discourses usually degenerate into commonplace. The great object of an oration is, to persuade the judgment, or affect the passions. In this case, the judgment is already persuaded, affections already gained. Having, therefore, no object, what exertions can the mind make?—Be the cause what it may, certain it is that such compositions are seldom or ever found to be models of eloquence; more especially where the subject is of an exten-

sive nature, as the revolution of America, and the struggles of its heroes. For here so wide a canvass is spread, that it is difficult to fill it up; and to take a particular part would seem to be a dereliction of the rest; for which dereliction, no special reason could be given. You could not embrace all the characters who have risen or have fallen, or catch at particular names of the illustrious. Confining yourself, therefore, to general observations, you make no particular impression, and your orations become frigid to the hearers."

"I have felt the truth of all this," said the Cincinnati gentleman; "and the difficulty of composing an oration to satisfy my own wishes. For being appointed by the society to pronounce one at our next meeting, to which I am now on my way, I have been trying my hand at it, and find it as you say, very difficult; but have attributed this, not to the nature of the composition, but to the inferiority of my powers."

"Not so," said the captain; "for in the hands of the greatest masters, this kind of composition labours. We do not find that even the oration of Isocrates, on the Lacedemonian war, which he was ten years in composing, has obtained such celebrity among the ancients as such great labour would bespeak. I have read the panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny, and find it but a cold composition. Plato's oration in honour of those who had fallen in the battles of Marathon and Platæa, is the best of this kind that antiquity can produce, and doubtless has great excellence in the simplicity of the expression. The touches are delicate and fine, and I do not know but we may place it among the most beautiful productions. It amuses with magic wildness of fancy, at the same time restrained and guided by an exquisite judgment. But it is rather a poem than an harangue. For though the composition is in prose, yet it breathes the soul of a bard, and is enchanting by the flow of the words, and the elevation of the images. In modern times, the best

thing we have of this nature, is the panegyric of Cromwell, supposed to be written by the great Milton, but not delivered. The ingenuity discovered in the mode of praising him, deserves every possible commendation. But the greater part of addresses that I have seen to great men now-a-days, or orations on public occasions, are turgid, or jejune, and little worth our notice."

"After this," said the Cincinnati gentleman, "I shall hesitate to show you the essay I have made towards a composition of this nature, as you appear to be so good a judge in this respect; and to know the deficiencies that may appear in any effort of this kind."

"Nay, rather," said the captain, "you ought to be the more confident in so doing; for knowing the difficulty of the work, I shall be the more ready to excuse what comes short of perfection."

"I shall then take the liberty," said the Cincinnati gentleman, "to read you a few paragraphs."

"I shall be happy to hear them," said the captain. The Cincinnati gentleman read as follows:

"Compatriots—I wish to say those things that never have been said, and that never will be said again. Because, in this case, there will be the characteristics of novelty and singularity; the two great constituents of pleasure, in all intellectual entertainments. But what can I saw new? Has not the whole world resounded with the justness of the cause in which we have been engaged? with the greatness of the attempt to withstand the power of Britain? And have not we, ourselves felt, seen, and known the great variety and changes of good or bad fortune?—What will it contribute to our immediate enjoyment to go over such scenes, unless the particular achievements of each officer can be enumerated, which decency forbids, and which, indeed, cannot be done in the limits of one harangue? Leaving, therefore, ourselves, and these scenes, wholly out of

the question, let us speak a little of those whom we left behind. But why need we speak; for all time will speak of them. The bards that shall live, will draw hence their choicest allusions. Consider them, indeed, as more happy than you, because they ascended from among the group of their companions, who were at that time instant witnesses of their achievements. The warriors who fall in battle are the most glorious subjects of panegyric. Hector and Achilles form the most splendid part of the song of Homer; and especially, because their bodies were interred in the presence of the two armies. Oh what a noble object, an army mourning a brave officer, and tears drawn even from the foe, struck with the sublime of his personal prowess and excellent knowledge of the military art. Much unlike, and far above those who languish with sickness on a bed in calm life, where relations standing round, wish the departure of the shade, and grasp at the property which he leaves behind. But the fame of a soldier none but himself can enjoy: there can be no heir or devisee of his property. It is his own, and it mounts with him. His blood only remains to bless the earth, from which flowers and roses spring, and clothe the woods and groves with enchantment and delight. For here the song of poesy is awakened, and at morn, and noon, and at still eve, their voices are heard who rehearse where the brave fell, and where they sleep. Sublime spirits! whether you inhabit the Pagan elysium or the Christian heaven, you are happy, and listen to those immortal lyres which are strung to the deeds of heroes."

So much for the exordium of the oration; it was all he had yet written. The evening passed in hilarity; and the conversation turned again on the Cincinnati order; but particularly what may be called the arms of the institution, viz. Britannia, represented as a fine woman, with her bosom bare, affrighted, and Cincinnatus, an accoutred knight, attacking her thus unarmed, as St. George did the dragon;

the eagle, the bird of Jove, in the mean time, grasping the lightning in his claws; an image that would seem unnatural: Whereas the eagle might be represented in the clouds near Jove, where the lightning might be left to work its forked course, without the handing of the eagle; and in the other figure, Cincinnatus might raise his lance against the lion that supports the crown, not against the goddess of the island.

From these strictures which the captain, without pretending to be a connoisseur, made, the transition was easy to a criticism on the motto of the badge, viz. *Omnia reliquit, servare, rempublicam.* "Not to speak of the bad Latin, this does not at all express that in which the merit of Cincinnatus consisted.* It was not in his leaving every thing to accept the commission of the Roman Senate; but in resigning his commission, and, the work done, going to his plough again. His praise would have been expressed better by the phrase of *Victor ad aratrum redit.* In fact, it cannot apply well to our army; most of our officers not having much to leave when they accepted their commissions; but discovered a Cincinnati-like disposition, in returning after war to the employments of civil life. It is true, there would have been less tinsel, and more bullion, in the patriotism of retiring without a badge, as Cincinnatus did; but it is a thing that can do little harm, and it is pleasing to indulge a whim.

"It may doubtless be said, that there were officers who left the plough, and fought and returned to it, as well as those who are within the limitations of the institution, and entitled to a badge; that troops who had served a short enlistment, and militia persons, at least those who fought a little, were not wholly destitute of some claim to the

* It should be the gerund instead of the infinitive. The verb *servare*, may be translated to *serve* by the *sound* only and not the sense.

badge of merit. I have been in a battle or two myself, but lay no particular claim to superior merit on that account. Even those who lost property might be said to suffer, and advance pretensions to the reward of honour. Not that all of them should claim gold medals, or even silver; but some brass, some copper, pewter, a bit of tin, or pot-metal, just as the specific value of their services might entitle them. Perhaps while some wore it at the breast, others might be enjoined to wear it at the breeches pocket; and thus, as well by the point from which appendant, as by the bob itself, designate the proportion of their honour."

After this, some things were said on the subject of introducing honorary members; against which the captain declared himself: "That every thing ought to be preserved *sui generis*; as nature makes no honorary animals; but all are of the species, or take not the name; a bear is a real bear, a sheep is a sheep; and there is no commixture of name, where there is a difference of nature. But it did not appear to be of any great consequence, one way or the other; for the order would never come to any great head, as there was no opposition given which is necessary to keep alive attachment to what is arbitrary and founded not in utility but caprice. For as the fire dies without air, so whim without contradiction."

The officer was a man of liberality and good sense, and acknowledged the truth of this. But the evening being now far spent, candles were called for, and they went to bed.

CHAPTER XX.

In which the history is dropped for a moment, in order to hold a conference with the reader, by way of variety and relaxation.

It is a happiness to a man to be able to amuse himself with writing. For it is not every one that can play upon

the violin or the flute; and the fingers must be employed some way. I may be blamed in not choosing some subject worthier of my studies, and requiring a profound research. It might profit the world more; but it would amuse myself less. *Omnis labor improbus;* and toil is grievous. However, I have not been wholly inattentive to severer studies. I have several law tracts by me: for which I mean, in due time, to solicit a subscription. *Nonum prematur annum*, in every work of moment, ought to be observed.

There are some light things which I may in the mean time throw out; a comparison of Thucydides with Livy; thoughts on the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and on the Carthaginian commerce; a comparison of the French and English eloquence; a supplement to Buffon, containing a description of several genera of animals, not taken notice of by him; hints for the improvement of the microscope; on the use of the Masoretic points; on the recent origin of the earth; on the criminal code of the Siamese, &c.

It is a good deal owing to my solitary residence in the western country, at a distance from books and literary conversation, that I have been led to write at all. It was necessary to fill up the interstices of business. If I should remain in that country, the same circumstance may lead me to write still. If I should remove to the seat of the federal government, I shall avoid the tedium by other means.

I could give some celebrity to other works by extracts, or by the common practice of publishing for and against. For it is of no consequence how fame is acquired, provided it is acquired. I have already informed the reader that style is my principal object.

This I have formed on the model of Xenophon, and Swift's Tale of a Tub, and Gulliver's Travels. It is simple, natural, various, and forcible. I hope to see it made a school book or classic.

In looking over what I have written, I find but one

word I would alter; it is near the beginning; where I say *figure* on the stage,* instead of appear, or make a figure on the stage. I carefully avoided the word *unfounded* instead of groundless, a word in vogue, among members of Congress especially. The word *commit*, is good, but being lately introduced, and too much hackneyed, I have not used it.

Language being the vestment of thought, it comes within the rules of other dress; so that, as slovenliness, on the one hand, or foppery on the other, is to be avoided in our attire; so also in our speech and writing. Simplicity in the one and the other, is the greatest beauty.

We do not know at what time the Greek language began to be written as it was by Hesiod or Homer. But we find it to have continued, with little or no change, from that time to the latest writers among the Byzantine historians, a period of more than three thousand years. The Roman language is considered as improving from the time of Ennius to the Augustine age. The language of the orators, poets, and historians of that time, is the standard. It was not so much in the use of particular words, as an affectation in the thought, that Seneca is censured as corrupting the language of the Romans. But Tacitus, after him, writes in a pure style; and I have found but one conceit in expression, in his whole history. Meaning to give the geography of a country of a certain tribe of the Germans; they are, says he, separated from the Sequani by mount Jura, from the —— by the lake ——, from the —— by the river ——, and from the Atabani by *mutual fear*. I do not find so much fault with the style of Pliny, as the heaviness of his thoughts and expressions. However, the Latin style of writing retained its propriety and other excellencies tolerably well, till the monks got possession of it, and brought it down to a jargon that is now exploded; and we recur to the pure originals of Horace, Virgil, Cicero, and Sallust.

* It is altered in this edition.

The French language is corrupting fast; and not in the use of words, but in the affectation of surprise, in the structure of the sentence, or the turn of the expression. Mirabeau was free from this; but not the Abbe Raynal. To give an example: meaning to say, which he might have done in a simple manner, that about the time the English cast their eyes upon Goa, as a place where, &c., stating the advantages of such a port; he begins by telling you, that the English had occasion for such a port, which, &c., enumerating the advantages; and after this, with surprise, comes upon you, and tells you, they wanted Goa. Enfin, says he; that is, in fine they wanted Goa.

The English language has not been as well written in England since the time of that literary dunce, Samuel Johnson, who was totally destitute of taste for the *vrai naturelle*, or simplicity of nature.

The language of the Scots writers is chaste, but the structure of the sentence of the academic Dr. Robertson offends in this particular; his uniformity of period striking the ear with the same pulse, as the couplets of our rhyme in Dryden and Pope. Hume is superior to him in this respect, writing as naturally as a man speaks; his style, rising and falling with the subject, as the movements of the mind themselves.

In the grave and serious mood in which I write this book, it would be out of place to indulge in satire or ridicule against individuals or public bodies. I acknowledge, that in my earlier years, and in the course of my academical studies, I had contracted some taste, and even habit, this way; owing to my reading the dialogues of Lucien, in the original Greek. Had I read them in a translation, they might have made less impression. But by means of a difficult language, studying them slowly, the turn of thought became more deeply impressed upon my mind. Moreover, afterwards, when I came to have some acquaintance with the modern

wits, such as Cervantes, Le Sage, and especially Swift, I found myself still more inclined to an ironical, and ludicrous way of thinking and writing. But finding the bad effects of this, in many respects, leading me into broils with individuals, and rendering me obnoxious to public bodies, I saw the indiscretion and bad policy of such indulgence; and have for several years past carefully avoided every thing of this kind. It is indeed acting but a poor part in life, to make a business of laughing at the follies of others. It is injurious to one's self; for there is a great deal more to be gained by soothing and praising what men do, than by finding fault with them. It may be said of satire, what was said of anger by some philosopher. It never pays the service it requires. It is your scratching, rump-tickling people that get into place and power. I never knew any good come of wit and humour yet. They are talents which keep the owner down. For this reason, I have taken care to repress all propensity to this vice; and I believe I can say it with truth, that since I have come to the years of a man's understanding, I have carefully avoided every thing of this nature. Had it not been for this prudence, I should not have been in a fair way, as I am now, to be a member of Congress, or a judge on the bench, or governor of a commonwealth, or secretary of state, or any thing that I may have in view. Had I remained an admirer of Rabelais, or Sterne, or other biting, jeering writers, that I at first met with, I might at this day have been considered as a wit only, without the least advancement in state affairs. But I would sooner see your Juniuses, and your Peter Pindars, libelling kings and ministers, in a worse place than purgatory, than sacrifice my interest to my passion, or my vanity by strokes of wit, which is but another name for ill-nature.

Indeed, as it has been known that I was engaged in writing something, persons, who either took, or pretended to take, some interest in my affairs, have urged me very much

to depart a little from my usual way, and make use of a little irony, by way of seasoning to the composition; for, in this case, it would be received better, and procure more readers; mankind being naturally delighted with ridicule and ill-nature, provided *they* are not the objects of it. In fact, I could see nothing to be ironical about; owing, perhaps, to my not being in the habit of looking for the ridiculous, and so having lost the talent of discovering it. The resolution that I had taken, would have fully preserved me from such a lapse, however numerous the objects of ridicule might be, that presented themselves. This will serve as an apology to those who have solicited me on this head, and relieve me from such solicitations for the future.

CHAPTER XXI.

The captain leaves the inn—The grave adventure with the man of the two kegs—Of the power of whiskey, and other strong drinks at elections.

RISING early next morning, the captain with his man Teague, took leave of the inn, and breakfasted at another about a half a score of miles further; but as nothing material happened, we shall come as far down in the day as eleven o'clock; though, by the by, it might have been more correct to have said up in the day, because the sun rises until twelve o'clock, and then descends: but waiving this nicety, we shall go on to relate what actually took place. A man was seen before them, driving, leisurely, a horse with two kegs upon his back. The captain took him for what is called a pack-horse man, carrying salt or sugar to some place of market. A man of philosophic turn of mind never hesitates to enter into conversation with any character; because human nature is the field whence he gathers thoughts

and expressions. The captain therefore accosting this man, said, "Is it salt or molasses you have in your kegs, countryman? You are going home from some country-store, I suppose, where you have been dealing; or going to set up a small shop of your own, and vend goods."—"No," said the man, with a Scotch-Irish pronunciation, "this is the general-election day, and the election is to be held for this district a little way before us. I am setting up for the legislature, and have these two kegs of whiskey to give a dram to the voters." The captain was thrown into a reverie of thought, and began to reflect with himself on the nature of a republican government, where canvassing by such means as this, can work so great an evil to elevate the most unqualified persons to the highest stations. But, in the mean time, roused a little from his thought, he had presence of mind to recollect the danger in which he was about to be involved afresh with his man Teague; whom, now looking round he saw to be about forty yards behind him. It would have been advisable to have diverted him from the road, and taken a circuitious route, to avoid the election ground. But, as the devil, or some worse being, would have it, it was a lane in which they were, with a fence on each side; so that he could not divert without leaping like a fox-hunter, or one of your light-horse men, to which the sober nag on which he rode was not competent. Besides, if Teague did not leap after him, he would be left exposed in the lane to the populace, who might solicit him to be their representative. To turn directly back would appear indecorous, and unless he could urge Teague on before him, which was not customary, and to which he might not all at once submit, his station would of course be in the rear, where he might be picked up as a straggler, and sent to some public body.*

* This satire is certainly *un peu fort*: yet we have seen very strange abuses of that glorious right of freemen—the elective franchise.

In this quandary of thought, looking up, he saw the breakers just a head; that is, the people met for the purpose of electing, and that it was now impossible to avoid them. Depending therefore, on his own address to make the best of circumstances, he suffered himself to be carried along towards them, keeping, in the mean time, an eye upon Teague, who was the cause of his concern.

Meeting accidentally with a Scotch gentleman on the ground, whom he knew, he communicated to him the delicacy of his situation, and the apprehensions he had on the part of Teague. Said the Scotch gentleman, "Ye need na gie yoursel any trouble on that head, man; for I sal warrant the man wi the twa kegs will carry the election; there is na resisting guid liquor; it has an unco effec on the judgment in the choice of a representative. The man that has a distillery or twa, canna want suffrages. He has his votaries about him like ane o' the Heathen gods, and because the fluid exhilarates the brain, they might think he maun be a deity that makes it; and they fa' down, especially whan they have drank ower muckle, and worship him, just as at the shrine of Apollo or Bacchus, among the ancients."

The candidate that opposed the man of the two kegs, was a person of gravity and years, and said to be of good sense and experience. The judgment of the people was in his favour, but their appetite leaned against him.

There is a story of one Manlius, a Roman, who had saved the capitol from the Gauls, by putting his breast to the ramparts, and throwing them down as they ascended. When this man afterwards, elated with the honours paid him, forgot the duties of a citizen, wishing to subvert the republic, by usurping power; the people, jealous of liberty, were incensed; and being convicted of the crime, he was dragged to punishment. It was not the way at that time, to hang, as you would a dog; or behead, as you would a wild beast; but to throw from a high rock, which they called

the Tarpeian. The capitol was just in view, and while they were dragging him along to the place, he would stretch his hand towards it, as much as to say, "There, O Romans, I saved you:" The populace at this would stop a while, irresolute whether to desist or drag him on. While they recollected his offence, they marched a step; but when they cast their eye on the capitol, they stood still; and not until some principal men directed the route out of the view of the capitol, could he be brought to justice.

So it was with the multitude convened on this occasion, between the man with the two kegs and the grave-looking person. When they looked on the one, they felt an inclination to promote him. But when, again, on the other hand, they saw two kegs which they knew to be replenished with a very cheering liquor, they seemed to be inclined in favour of the other. The candidates were called upon to address the people, and the grave person mounted the stump of a tree, many of them standing round, as the place was a new clearing. His harangue was listened to by some of the older and more sedate, and one man, hard of hearing, seemed to make great effort to catch the sounds. As soon as the man of the two kegs took a stump, he was surrounded by an eager crowd.—"Friends," said he, in the native Scotch-Irish, "I'm a good dimicrat, and hates the Brattish—I'm an elder of the meetin, forby, and has been overseer of the roads for three years.—An' ye all know, that my mammy was kilt o' the Ingens—now all ye that's in my favour, come forit an' drenk."—Appetite, or rather thirst, prevailed, and the voters gave their votes to the man with the two kegs.

Teague, in the mean time, thinking he had another chance of being a great man, had been busy, but to no purpose; for the people gave their votes as already mentioned: The captain thought himself fortunate to be thus relieved, and proceeded on his journey.

The perplexity of the captain, in the late transaction, on

account of his servant, may serve to put those in mind who travel with a waiter, not to go much about at the election seasons, but avoid them as you would the equinoxes. It might not be amiss, if for this reason the times of electing members for the several bodies were put down in the almanac, that a man might be safe in his excursions, and not have an understrapper picked up when he could not well spare him.

I mean this as no burlesque on the present generation; for mankind in all ages have had the same propensity to magnify what was small, and elevate the low. We do not find that the Egyptians, though there were lions in the kingdom of Libya, not far distant, ever made a god of one of them. They rather chose the cow kind, the stork, and the crocodile, or the musk-rat, or mire-snipe, or other inferior animal, for an object of deification. The Romans, and the Greeks also, often worshipped small matters. As

> Cannons shoot the higher pitches,
> The lower you put down their breeches.—

The smaller the objects we take up, and make great, the act is greater; for it requires an equal art in the formation of the glass to magnify, as to diminish, and if the object is not of itself small, there is no magnifying. Caligula is celebrated for making his horse a senator. It would have been nothing to have made a Roman Knight one; but to endow a mere quadruped with the qualities of a legislator, bespeaks great strength of parts and judgment.

CHAPTER XXI.

Curious dream of the captain, from which he is awakened by a real occurrence—Battle between Teague and the hostler about the best mode of currying a horse—National vanity of foreigners —Reflections.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon that the captain came to an inn, where unhorsing and unsadling, Teague took the steed, and the master went to sleep on a sofa in the passage. Unless it is in a very deep sleep, the mind is in some degree awake, and has what are called dreams. These are frequently composed of a recollection of late events. Sometimes the mind recovers incidents long since past, and makes comments, but most usually out of mere indolence, takes up with what is next at hand. It happened so on this occasion; for the captain thought himself still in conversation with the Scotchman on the subject of the late election. It seemed to him that he said, "Mr. M'Donald," for that was the name of the Scotch gentleman "you do not seem to have a high opinion of our republican form of government, when the most contemptible can obtain the people's suffrages."

The Scotchman seemed to answer in his own dialect, saying, "Ye are much mistaken man, if ye draw that conclusion. I think there is a worse chance for merit to come forth where appointments are in the hand of one, than when with many; for it is much easier to scratch the rump of one, than to tickle the hurdies o' a thousand. Ye see our executive dinna do much better in their appointments to judicial and ministerial offices, than the rabble folk themselves to the legislative. It all comes to the same thing in every government; the wind blaws, and the feathers and the fern get uppermost."

At this instant he was awakened by a bustle out of doors. It appeared that a disagreement had taken place between Teague and the hostler at the inn, about their skill respectively in rubbing down and currying horses. Teague had made use of a single grab of hay, which he held with both hands, and impressed the horse, rubbing him from side to side, and up and down, with all his might. The other, with a wisp in each hand, rubbed; the right hand passing to the left, while the left hand passed to the right, in a transverse or diagonal direction. The hostler valued himself on having been groom, as he pretended, to a nobleman in England; and therefore must be supposed to understand the true art of currying. Teague maintained his opinion, and way of working, with a good deal of obstinacy, until at last it came to blows. The first stroke was given by Teague, who hit the hostler on the left haunch with his foot, when he was stooping down to show Teague how to rub the fetlock. The hostler recovering, and seizing Teague by the breast, pushed him back, with a retrogade motion, until he was brought up by a cheek of the stable door. Resting against this, Teague made a sally, and impelled his antagonist several yards back; who, finding, at length behind him, the support of a standing-trough, which the carriers used for a manger to feed their horses, recovered his position, and elanced Teague some distance from the place of projection. But Teague still keeping hold of the collar of his adversary, had brought him along with him, and both were now on the ground struggling for victory. But Teague, turning on his belly, and drawing up his knees, was making an effort to raise himself to his feet. The other, in the mean time, partly by the same means, and partly by retaining hold of the Irishman, was in the attitude of rising with him. They were now both up, locked fast in the grasp of each other; their heads inclining in conjunction, but their feet apart, like muskets stacked after a review, or like the arch of a

bridge. The head of each supported by the abutment of the feet. Few blows were given, and therefore not much damage done. But the persons present calling out fair play, and making a bustle in the porch of the inn, had awakened the captain, and brought him to the door, who, seeing what was going on, took upon him to command the peace; and the people supposing him to be a magistrate, assisted to part the combatants; when the captain, ordering both of them before him, made inquiry into the cause of the dispute. Teague gave his account of the matter; adding, "that if he had had a shalellah, he would have been after making him know dat de paple in dis country could curry a horse, or a cow, or a shape, as well as any Englishman in de world, though he have been hastler to a great lord, or de king himself, at his own stable where he kapes his horse."

"Teague," said the captain, "this may be true; but it was unbecoming a philosopher, to attempt to establish this by blows. Force proves nothing but the quantum of the force. Reason is the only argument that belongs to man. You have been the aggressor, and therefore in the power of the law. But as to you Mr. Hostler, you have given provocation; I have had this lad with me several years, and I say that he curries and rubs down a horse well. It is no uncommon thing for men of your country to undervalue other nations. You naturally associate your own attainments with the bulk and populousness of large cities: but can the looking at a large building, or a tall spire, add an inch to your stature? Because Fox is eloquent, is every one that hears him so too? Is not human ingenuity the same here as on the other side the water? Our generals have fought as well, in the late war, as any Clinton or Cornwallis that you have. Our politicians have wrote, and our patriots have spoke, as well as your Burkes, or your Sheridans, or any other; and yet when you come here, there is no bearing the airs of superiority you take upon yourselves. I wonder if the wasps

in your London garrets consider themselves better than the wasps in these woods? I should suppose it must be so; such is the contemptible vanity of an island, which, taken in its whole extent would be little more than a urinal to one of our Patagonians in South America."

This the captain said to mortify the hostler; though, by the by, there is a good deal of truth in the observation, that the people of an old country undervalue the new; and, when they think of themselves, conjoin the adventitious circumstances of all that exists where they lived. I have found a prejudice of this nature, even with the wisest men. What wonder, therefore, that a poor, illiterate hostler, should be subject to it? But if he did undervalue an American born, yet he ought to have considered that Teague, though not born in Britain, was born near it, and therefore might considerably approach the same skill in any handicraft work.

In natural history we do not value animals on account of the place from whence they are taken, but on account of what they are themselves; and in things that are made by hands, not by the manufacturer, but by the quality. We prefer the trout of the rivulet to the mullet of the river; and we judge of the pudding, not by the maker, but the eating. There is a proverb that establishes this; for proverbs are the deductions of experience, and to which we assent as soon as expressed; containing in them an obvious truth, which the simplest understand.

It is not for the sake of any moral, that I have related this scuffle that took place between the Irishman and the hostler; but for the sake of showing in what manner incidents are to be related; that is, with great simplicity of style, and minuteness of description. That part of Livy which contains the combat of the Horatii and Curatii, is frequently given to the students at a college to translate; that by this means they may be taught to imitate the like delicacy in the choice of words, and particularly of the recital. The above may

answer the same purpose. It is true, there is not the like incidents in this combat, as in that described by Livy; nevertheless, the same art is herein discovered, as the sound critic will observe. I know it will be thought by any one who reads it, that he could use the very same words, and give the same liveliness of picture, were he to attempt it. Should he try it, he will find himself disappointed. *Sudet multum, frustraque laboret, ausus idem.*

It may be thought, that though style is my object, yet I might now and then bring in a thought to entertain the reader, and introduce some subject of moment, rather than the fisty-cuffs of two ragamuffins. I would just ask this question: Is not the talent of the artist shown as much in painting a fly, as a wagon-wheel? If this were intended as a book of morals, or physiology, and not as a mere belle-lettre composition, there might be something said; as the case is, critics must be silent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The captain proposes to Teague to pass the night in the open air, according to the usage of chivalry—Teague objects, and they repair to a house near the road—Of what befel them at the widow's.

I SHALL pass over the circumstances of the captain's dining, and Teague, reconciled with the hostler, taking his mess in the kitchen; and go on to what befel afterwards, when, having saddled the horse, they set out on their further peregrination.

Towards evening, when the shadow of the trees began to be long, the captain, bidding Teague trot along side, addressed him in the following words: "Teague," said he, "it is true, I am none of your knight-errants, who used to

ride about the world relieving fair damsels, and killing giants, and lying out in woods and forests, without a house or tent-cloth over their heads, to protect them from the night air. Nevertheless, as in some respects, my equipment, and sallying forth, resembles a knight-errant and you a squire, would it be amiss, just for a frolic, to lie out a night or two, that it might be said that we have done the like? There is no great danger of wolves or bears, for while there are sheep or pigs to be got at, they will shun human flesh. It will make a good chapter in our journal, to describe you lying at the foot of an oak, and me, with my head upon my saddle, under another; the horse, in the mean time, feeding at a small distance."

Teague thought it would be an easier matter to write down the chapter in the journal, than lie under the trees to beget it.

"It is true," said the captain, "navigators and travellers make many a fiction; and those who have been in battle have killed many that were killed by others, or have not been killed at all. But it would ill become a limb of chivalry to deviate from the truth. It will be about twelve hour's service lying on our backs and looking up to the stars, hearing the howling of wolves, and observing the great bear in the heavens, the means by which the Chaldeans, the first astronomers, laid the foundation of the science."

"Fait, and I tink," said Teague, "it would be better to be in a good house, wid a shoulder of mutton to ate, before we go to slape, than to have our own shoulders torn by de bears, or bruised by lying under great oaks. Of what use is dis astranomy? Did any of dese astranomers ever shoot down a bear in de firmament, to get a joint of mate for a sick person? and what good comes of lying in de woods, to be ate up by the snakes; but fevers, and agues, and sore troats, to get a long cough and die in a ditch like a dead horse, and be nothing tho't of, but to be trown into ridicule

like a block-head widout any sense. It is better to go to a house, and get a bed to slape in, and warm shates about us, dan be lying in de dew like a frag, croaking the next day, and get no good by it."

The captain had made the proposition merely to amuse himself with Teague, and so did not insist upon it.

Riding one or two miles, the sun was setting, and a house appeared in view a little off the road. A lane led up to it, with a meadow on one side, and a pasture field on the other. On this last, there were groups of cattle and sheep grazing. The house in front was a frame building, respectable in appearance, from the height and dimensions; but ancient. There was a considerable extent of clear ground around it, and an orchard hard by, with at least five hundred apple trees.

Having lodged chiefly at inns since his first setting out, the captain had the curiosity to diversify his travels, by lodging at a private house this evening. Accordingly, riding up to the door, and calling out halloa, which is the note of interrogation in use when a man wishes the master or mistress of a family, or some one of the servants to come forth, to know what he wants,—it happened that the mistress herself came to the door, and seeing a good-looking man, of middle age, sitting on horseback, with his servant ready to take care of his steed, should he think proper to dismount, made a slight inclination of the head, as much as to say, Sir, I should be happy to know in what manner I can serve you.

"Madam," said the captain, "the night is drawing on, and I have been reflecting with myself, whether it were better to lodge in the woods, or to seek the shelter of some hospitable roof. All things considered, I have thought the latter most advisable; and the only question that remains is, whether my wish can be gratified by your ladyship."

The lady smiling with much complacency, said "You are welcome, Sir, if you wish to stop, and can put up with such

as we have; though, since my old man's time, we don't take in strangers for common."—"Madam," said the captain, "I shall be happy if I can be worthy of the accommodation."—"You can come in, Sir, and we'll accommodate you to the best of our capability."

Having alighted, he was introduced to a very decent apartment, where the lady, seating herself in a large cushion chair, and pulling out her box, took a pinch of snuff, and laid the box upon the cushion. She was a good-looking woman, being about fifty years of age; but had a green fillet on her left eyebrow, as it seems the eye on that side was subject to a defluction of rheum, which made it expedient to cover it. If she wanted the rose on her cheek, she had it on her nose, so that it all came to the same thing. Nothing could be said against her chin, which was delicately adorned with various straggling bristles. She could not be said to be very tall; but what she wanted in height she made up in breadth; so that multiplying one dimension with the other, she might be considered as a sizeable woman.

After conversing a little while, the lady withdrew, to give directions in the kitchen what to provide for supper. The captain, in the mean time, taking up a clay pipe which he saw on the mantle piece, amused himself with a whiff, although the pipe was none of the newest, having been used by the lady herself.

On entering the kitchen, the first thing she observed was Teague, reclining in an angle of the chimney fast asleep. Presuming that he had been inattentive to his master's horse, which had been sent to the stable, she desired a servant to to give him a jog and wake. Teague awaking, saw the old lady and addressed her:—"Dear madam, what a great happiness it is for poor sarvants to have gentlefolks about them. God bless your ladyship's anour: you are just for all the world like my cousin Shala Shaghney, de handsomest woman in all Ireland, and was married to Shan Crossan,

" You are just for all the world like my cousin, Shala Shaghney, de handsomest woman in all Ireland."

who had a great estate, and a flock of shape into de bargain. She used to say to me when I was aslape, 'Teague, are you awake?' and when I was awake, 'Teague, are you aslape my dear honey?'"

There is something in an Irishman which has a peculiar effect upon the fair; whether it is owing to the advantages of person and complexion, which they often possess, or the delicacy and quantum of the flattery of which they are not niggardly: nor need they be so, no persons having a greater stock to come and go upon. So it was, that the language of the bog-trotter had gained the good-will of this same Hecuba, and she ordered him a pint tumbler of cider oil, with powdered ginger, to warm his stomach.

Returning to the parlour she continued her conversation with the captain; but her mind running upon Teague, she could not avoid introducing his name, with a view to learn some particulars of his history.—"This is a civil young man," said she, "that came with you, and of a conversation above ordinary persons."—The captain being an observer of the passions of the mind, as they express themselves in the eye and aspect, saw that Teague had made some impression on the affections of this goodly old gentlewoman: Nor was he displeased with it; for his first alarm was, that she would have fastened on himself; but her passion ~~taking this~~ course would be less troublesome. Framing his answers, therefore, to her questions, with a view to favour what she had so fortunately commenced, he gave her to understand that, though in the disguise of a servant, Teague was no inconsiderable ~~personage~~; that he had been a member of congress one or two years; though, by the by, this was stretching the matter a little, as he had only had it in his power to be one. But if it is allowable to strain a point at all, it is in the recommendation of one who stands well enough already; for not being taken on the recommendation, there is no deception; and it is but civility

to make one more pleased with their choice, than they already are.

The captain said nothing of his having preached, or being about to preach; for the idea of sermons and catechisms, impressing the mind with religious awe, is unfavourable to love. As to his being a member of the philosophical society, it could be neither here nor there with a lady, and therefore he was silent with respect to this also.

Supper being brought in, they sat down; but little conversation passed; the mind of the enamorata being more in the kitchen than in the parlour. After supper, the captain sitting sometime, and seeming drowsy, was asked by his hostess if he chose to go to bed: Answering in the affirmative, a servant waited with a candle; and bidding her good night, he was lighted to his chamber.

No sooner had he withdrawn, than the old lady sent her compliments to Teague, to take a seat in the parlour; where sitting down to a roasted duck, just brought in, a few slices of gammon on a plate, a piece of veal, and a couple of roasted potatoes, he was desired to partake: the old lady casting amorous looks at him in the mean time. I say looks; for though she had but one eye to look with, yet looking often, she might be said to cast looks. It was a new thing to the Irishman to be at a table with the mistress of the house; and he began now to think that fortune meant to do him justice: and with an ease and self possession, which some would call effrontery, he did the honours of the table; helping himself, and talking as fast as consisted with his disposition to satisfy his appetite.—"May it plase your ladyship," said he, "I am a poor sarvant now, but I have seen de time, when I ate at as good a table as de captain, dough he rides upon a horse, and I trot on foot. My uncle by de mother's side, Shan O'Gan, had a deer park, and kept race horses, to go to de fair, and de city of Cork, and lost all he had by gambling; and my father's brother, Phelim

O'Regan, was a justice of pace, and hung paple for staleing shape. I might have been a member of parliament, if I had staid at home and went to school; but sending a challenge, and fighting with my own dear cousin, Denis O'Connelly, I had to fly de kingdom, and brought nothing with me but my brogues, and tin guineas in my purse; and am now nothing but a poor sarvant, unless your ladyship would take pity upon me, and marry me; for I am wary of this way of tratting after a crazy captain, dat has no sense to curry his own harse; and I have to fight duels for him, and keep him from being knocked down like a brute baste; for dis very day, when he had a quarrel with a hastler, and was trown upon his back, I lifted him up, and said, 'Dear honey, are you dead?' took the hastler by the troat, and choaked him, and he could not spake, but said 'Dear gintlemen, spare my life!' so dat if your ladyship will take me to yourself, I will stay wid you, and take care of de harses, and cows, and de shape, and plant parates, and slape wid you, and ask not a farthing, but your own sweet self into the bargain! for you are de beauty of de world! and fasting or slaping, I could take you to my arms, my dear crature, and be happy wid you."

The lady was by this time entirely won, and gave him to understand, that after consulting a friend or two she would give him an answer.

I give only a sketch of the courtship that took place, for a great deal was said: and it was near midnight before the lovers could prevail on themselves to part: when Teague was lighted to his bed, and had as good as that in which the captain slept, which was a new thing to him, being accustomed to pig in with hostlers and servants, at the places where they lodged.

The captain was up early in the morning, and astonished not to find Teague stirring, but inquiring of the servants where Teague slept, he was shown up a pair of stairs, which he ascended, thinking he had one or two more to ascend

before he reached the garret. But what was his astonishment when he was shown into a room on the second floor, where he found Teague snoring on a feather bed with curtains! Waking him, "Teague," said he, "this goes beyond all your former impudence: to crawl up out of the kitchen, and get into a feather bed."—"Please your anour," said Teague, "to ring a bell, and call up a sarvant, to bring boots and slippers, for I am to be married dis blessed day."

His master was thunderstruck; and comprehending the whole of what had taken place, saw his *faux pas* in recommending him to the hostess; and now it only remained, to cure the blunder he had made, if it was at all curable.

We are short sighted mortals; and while we stop one leak, the water rushes in at another. The very means that we use to save ourselves from one evil, leads us to a worse. The captain had need on this occasion of all his address. Composing himself, he dissembled, and spoke as follows:

"Teague," said he, "will you that are a young man, and have great prospects before you, consign yourself to the arms of an old woman? Her breath will kill you in the course of a fortnight. The fact is, she is a witch, and enchantress; she made the same proposition to me last night, of marrying me, but I declined it. The world is full of these sort of cattle. There was one Shagnesa Circe, in old times, that used to gather all she could in her net, and transform them into hogs. Ulysses was the only one that had the sense to keep clear of her music, and avoid her. Did you see that drove of hogs before the door, when we rode up last evening?—They are nothing more than stragglers which she has transformed into swine. I did not sleep a wink last night, thinking of the danger to which you were exposed. Do you think, Teague, that I have read books for nothing? Have you not seen me in my study, morning and night, looking over Greek and Hebrew letters, like partridge tracks? All this to find out what was going on up

and down the world. Many a history of witches and conjurers, I have read, and know them when I see them, just as I would my own sheep. And have you not heard many stories of such people in Ireland? You may depend upon it, she is a witch, and if I am not mistaken, one of the greatest that ever run. She was all night in my room, in the shape of a cat. It is a mercy that she had not changed herself into an alligator, and eat you up before the morning. I have had several of my acquaintances murdered by falling in with old women whom they took for fortunes; but were in reality witches, and had great dealings with the devil."

Teague by this time was out of bed, and had dressed himself in his overalls and short coat, and was ready for a march. Indeed he wished to escape as soon as possible; and descending the stairs, going to the stable, and saddling the horse, they both set out without taking their leave. It was in this manner Eneas quitted Dido, and got a-shipboard, before she was awake; and the only difference was, that Teague had left no little Iulus in the hall, to put her in mind of the father.

Travelling along, the captain could not but observe to Teague the injudicious choice he was about to make, even had the woman not been a necromancer:—For the man who surrenders himself to the arms of a superannuated female, for the sake of fortune, acts a part not less unworthy and disgraceful, than the prostitute who does the same for half a crown. While a man has the use of his limbs and arms, he ought to be above such mercenary motives; and true happiness can be found only in congruity, and what is natural.

Teague seemed still to have some hankering after the ducks, and the feather bed; but as they proceeded, the recollection became more faint; for distance and time, is the cure of all passions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Which recounts the wicked theft of a clergyman's credentials by a yarn merchant.—The trial by preaching.—Farrago shows himself a wise compounder of differences.

Proceeding four or five miles, they breakfasted at an inn; and afterwards, going on a mile or two further, came to a place of worship, embosomed in a natural grove of oak, hickory, and beech trees, to which a number of horses was fastened, showing that an assemblage was convened to hear a sermon, or attend to some church matters. It proved to be a consistory, met to decide on an affair which came before them. It was this: Two men appeared, the one of a grave aspect, with a black coat; the other without the same clerical colour of garb, but with papers which announced his authority to preach, and officiate as a clergyman. The man with the black coat averred, that coming over together, in a vessel from Ireland, they had been messmates; and while he was asleep one night, being drowsy after prayers, the other had stolen his credentials from his pocket. The man in possession of the papers, averred they were his own, and that the other had taken his coat, and by advantage of the cloth, thought to pass for what he was not.

The consistory found it difficult, without the aid of inspiration, to decide; and that faculty having now ceased, there were no other means, that they could discover, to bring the truth to light.

Captain Farrago perceiving their perplexity, could not avoid stepping up, and addressing them as follows: "Gentlemen," said he, "excuse the interference of a stranger in this matter, but I think there is a text of Scripture, which might enable you to decide: It is this, '*by their fruits ye shall know them.*' Let the two men preach: and the best

sermon take the purse; or laying aside the figure, let him that expounds the scripture best, be adjudged the clergyman."

The proposition thus, as it were unexpectedly, and almost providentially made, seemed reasonable, and was adopted; the competitors being desired to withdraw a little, and con over their notes, that they might be ready to deliver a discourse respectively.

The captain, observing the countenance of him in possession of the papers, was sensible, from his looks and behaviour, that he was the impostor. Going out therefore shortly after, and falling in with him, as he walked in a thoughtful mood, at a little distance from the church, he said to him; "I perceive how it is, that the other is the preacher; nevertheless, I would wish to assist you; and, as I have been the means of bringing you into this predicament, I should be disposed to bring you out. Let me know how the case really stands."

The other candidly acknowledged, that having been a yarn merchant in Ireland, his capital had failed, and he had thought proper to embark for this country; and, coming over with this clergyman, he had purloined his papers, and would have taken his coat, had it not been too little for him; a thing which never struck the ecclesiastical tribunal. But the matter being now reduced to an actual experiment of talents, he was at a loss; for he had never preached a sermon in his life. It was true, he had heard sermons and lectures in abundance; and had he been suffered to go on and to preach at his leisure amongst the country people first, he might have done well enough; but to make his first essay in the presence of a learned body of the clergy, would hazard a detection; but now he saw his oversight in not having taken the notes of the other, at the same time he took the vouchers of his mission.

The captain encouraged him by observing, "that there were few bodies, ecclesiastical or civil, in which there were more

than one or two men of sense; that the majority of this consistory might be as easily imposed upon as the lay people; that a good deal would depend on the text that he took: some were easily preached upon, others more difficult. An historical passage about Nimrod, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Sihon, king of the Amorites, or Og, king of Bashan; out of Genesis, or Deuteronomy, or the book of Judges, or Kings, would do very well; but that he should avoid carefully the book of Job, the Psalms of David, and the Proverbs of Solomon; these requiring a considerable theological knowledge, or at least moral discussion and reflection. Keep a good heart," said he, "and attempt the matter. The issue may be better than you apprehend."

With this, taking him a little further to the one side, where his horse was tied, he took out a bottle from his saddle-bags, with a little whiskey in it, which Teague had put there, and gave him a dram. This had a good effect, and raised his spirits; and he seemed now ready to enter the lists with his antagonist.

The other, in the mean time, had gone in, and was ready when called upon to hold forth. The man with the papers, returning, with the captain not far behind, took his seat. The board signified that one or the other might ascend the pulpit. The credential-man, wishing to gain time to think farther what he was about to say; but, affecting politeness, yielded precedence to the other, and desired him to preach first. Accordingly, stepping up, he took his text and began.

THE SERMON.

Prov. viii. 33. *Hear instruction and be wise, and refuse it not.*

"INSISTING on these words, I shall inquire—1. Whence it is that men are averse to instruction.—2. The misfortune of this disposition. *Lastly*, Conclude with inferences from the subject.

1. "*Whence it is that men are averse to instruction.* The first principle is *indolence.* The mind loves ease, and does not wish to be at the trouble of thinking. It is hard to collect ideas, and still harder to compose them; it is like rowing a boat: whereas, acting without thought, it is like sailing before the wind, and the tide in our favour.

"The second principle is *pride.* It wounds the self-love of men to suppose that they need instruction. We resent more the being called fools than knaves. No man will own himself weak and uninformed. In fact, he has not humility to think he is; or, if he should be conscious of a want of knowledge, he is unwilling that others should have the same opinion; and he will not submit to be instructed, as that would imply that he is not already so.

"The third principle is *passion.* When we are disposed to satisfy the desires of the constitution, or the affections of the mind, which are unlawful, we do not wish to hear dissuasions from the indulgence. The lecture comes to torment before the time, when the consequence must afflict.

"Under the *second* head, we shall show *the misfortune of this disposition.* It is what, in early life, begins to fix the difference, of persons. The hearer of instruction, even with more moderate parts, becomes the more sensible boy. The hearer of instruction has a better chance for life and mature years. Into how many dangers do young persons run—leaping, climbing, running, playing truant, and neglecting books? Into what affrays, too, evil passions prompt them, when they begin to feel the sinew strong, and the manly nerve braced? They value corporeal strength, which they have in common with the horse, or the ox, and neglect the cultivation of the mind, which is the glory of our nature. What is a man without information?—In form only above a beast. What is a man negligent of moral duty? Worse than a beast; because he is destitute of that by which he might be governed, and of which his nature is capable; and with-

out which, he is more dangerous in proportion as he is more ingenious.

"I shall conclude with *inferences* from the subject.

"It may be seen hence, with what attention we ought to hear, and with what observation, see. The five senses are the avenues of knowledge; but the reflection of the mind on ideas presented, is the source of wisdom. Understanding is better than riches; for understanding leads to competency, and to know how to use it. Laying aside, therefore, all indolence, pride, and passion, let us hear instruction, and be wise, and refuse it not.

"This, reverend brethren, is a short sermon. It is one in miniature; like the model of a mechanical invention, which is complete in its parts, and from whence may be seen the powers of the inventor. I did not intend to take up your time with a long discourse; because, *ex pede Herculem;* you may know what I can do by this essay.

"The fact is, I am regularly educated, and licensed; but this, my competitor, is no more than a yarn merchant; who, failing in his trade, has adventured to this country: and, coming over in the vessel with me, took the opportunity one night, when I was asleep, and picked my fob of these papers, which he now shows."

Thus having spoke, he descended.

The other, in the mean time, had been at his wits-end what to do. The technical difficulty of taking a text, and dividing it under several heads, and splitting each head into branches, and pursuing each with such strictness, that the thoughts should be ranged under each, which belonged to it, as exactly as you would the coarser yarn with the coarser, and the finer with the finer; or put balls with balls, and hanks with hanks. At last he had determined to take no text at all; as it was much better to take none, than to take one and not stick to it. Accordingly, he resolved to preach up and down the scripture, wherever he could get a word of

seasonable doctrine. Mounting the pulpit, therefore, he began as follows:

SERMON.

"THE first man that we read of was Adam, and the first woman, Eve; she was tempted by the serpent, and eat the forbidden fruit. After this, she conceived and bare a son, and called his name Cain; and Cain was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep; for she conceived and bare a second son, and called his name Abel. And Cain slew Abel. There were several generations unto the flood, when Noah built an ark, and saved himself and family. After the flood, Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph and his brethren. Potiphar's wife, in Egypt, took a fancy for Joseph, and cast him in a ward; and Potiphar was a captain of Pharaoh's guards; and Joseph interpreted Pharaoh's dream of the lean cattle; and there were twelve year's famine in the land; and Moses passed for the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and married Jethro's daughter in the land of Midian, and brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt; and Joshua, the son of Nun, and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh; and the walls of Jericho fell down at the sounding of ram's horns; and Sampson slew a thousand with the jaw bone of an ass; and Delilah, the harlot; and Gideon, and Barak, and Jephthah, and Abinoam the Giliaditish; and Samuel, and Saul, and the prophets; and Jonathan, and David; and Solomon built him a house; and silver was as plenty as the street stones in Jerusalem; Rehoboam and Jehosophat, and the kings of Israel and Judah; and Daniel was cast into the lion's den; and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; and Isaiah and Jeremiah; and Zachariah and Zerubabel; Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Apostles; Mary Magdalene, out of whom were cast seven devils; and the father of Zebedee's children; and

Pontius Pilate, and the high priest; and Ananias and Sapphira, and the seven trumpets in the Revelation, and the dragon and the woman. Amen. I add no more."

The lay people present were most pleased with the last discourse, and some of the younger of the clergy: but the more aged gave the preference to the first. Thus it seemed difficult to decide.

"Gentlemen," said the captain, "the men seem both to have considerable gifts, and I see no harm in letting them both preach. There is work enough for them in this new country; the first appears to me to be the more qualified for the city, as a very methodical preacher: but the last is most practical; and each may answer a valuable purpose in their proper place."

The decision appeared judicious; and it was agreed that they should both preach. The man who had been the yarn merchant, thanked their reverences, and gave out that he should preach there that day week, God willing.

The clergy were so much pleased with the captain, that they gave him an invitation to go home with them to an elder's house just by; but recollecting the trouble he had with Teague on another occasion, and the danger of being drawn into a like predicament, should he fall into conversation with the clergyman, and take it into his head to preach, he declined the invitation, and proceeded on his journey.

CHAPTER XXV.

Our hero arrives at the metropolis—The disappearance of Teague—Strange place to which his master went in search of him—A tragic incident, and affecting story.

NOTHING of importance occurred worth relating after the incident recorded in the last chapter, for some days, until

the captain arrived at the famed metropolis of the state,* and put up at the sign of the Indian Queen. Taking a day or two to refresh himself, and get a new pair of breeches made, and his coat mended, which was a little worn at the elbows, and in these small matters modern chivalry differs essentially from the ancient, he went to look about the city. The fourth day, when he had proposed to set out to perambulate this American Babylon, and called for Teague to bring him his boots, there was no Teague there. The hostler being called, with whom he used to sleep, informed, that he had disappeared the day before. The captain was alarmed: and from the recollection of former incidents, began to inquire if there were any elections going on at that time. As it so happened, there was one that very day. Thinking it probable the bog-trotter, having still a hankering after an appointment, might offer himself on that occasion, he set out to the place where the people were convened, to see if he could discover Teague amongst the candidates. He could see nothing of him; and though he made inquiry, he could hear no account. But the circumstance of the election drawing his attention for some time, he forgot Teague.

The candidates were all remarkably pot-bellied; and waddled in their gait. The captain inquiring what were the pretensions of these men to be elected; he was told, that they had all stock in the funds, and lived in brick buildings; and some of them entertained fifty people at a time, and ate and drank abundantly; and living an easy life, and pampering their appetites, they had swollen to this size.

"It is a strange thing," said the captain, "that in the country, in my route, they would elect no one but a weaver or a whiskey-distiller; and here none but fat swabs, that guzzle wine, and smoke segars. It was not so in Greece,

* Philadelphia, was at this time the seat of government of the United States, as well as of Pennsylvania.

where Phocion came with his plain coat, from his humble dwelling, and directed the councils of the people; or in Rome, where Cincinnatus was made dictator from the plough. Something must be wrong, where the inflate, and the pompous are the objects of choice; though there is one good arising from it, that there is no danger of my Teague here. He could not afford to give a dinner; and as to funds, he has not a single shilling in them. They will make him neither mayor nor legislator in this city."

"Na, faith," said Mr. M'Donald, the Scotch gentleman, who had been present at the embarrassment of the captain, on the occasion of the former election; and having, a few days before, come to the city, and observing the captain in the crowd, had come up to accost him, just as he was uttering these last words to himself: "Na faith," said he, "there is na danger of Teague here, unless he had his scores o' shares in the bank, and was in league with the brokers, and had a brick house at his hurdies, or a ship or twa on the stocks. A great deal used to be done, by employing advocates with the tradesmen, to listen to the news, and tell them fair stories; but all is now lost in substantial interest, and the funds command every thing. Besides, this city is swarming with Teagues, and O'Regans, and O'Brians, and O'Murphys, and O'Farrels; I see, that they cannot be at a loss without your bog-trotter."

The captain, having his fears eased, in this particular, returned home, greatly troubled, nevertheless, that he could not come up with the Irishman.

Reflecting with himself, that Teague had the prevailing propensity of his countrymen, and that he might have gone to some of those houses which are in bad repute, judging by the name usually given there, he thought it not amiss to make some inquiry, which by the by was rather an evidence of his backwood simplicity, than of a want of good sense. Being informed by the waiter, that he had over-

heard gentlemen at the house, in their cups, speak of a certain Mrs. Robeson, who kept a house of that kind; and as he could understand, it was in such a part of the city, a few doors from such a street; the captain set out, and coming into the neighbourhood had not much difficulty in finding the house. Knocking, and on a servant coming to the door, inquiring for Mrs. Robeson, he was shown into a parlour, and in a little time an old woman made her appearance dressed out with dandy finery, and a face characterized by vice and impudence. Being seated, he took the liberty of addressing her: "Madam," said he, "I am not unacquainted with the style and designation of your house." —"Why, as to that," said she, "we do the best we can to please the gentlemen; but we find it very hard to procure young ladies; so many, since the war is over, having taken to virtuous ways, and got married, has almost broke us up. But I have been fortunate enough to light upon one, yesterday, just from the country, and I am sure—"

"It is not in the way that you mean, madam," said the captain, "that I take the liberty to call upon you. I have a servant man, of the name of Teague O'Regan, who is fond of women, and has been absent some days; and it has occurred to me, that he may have come to your house, or some other of the like kind; and may be skulking, to avoid my service. As he has little or no money, it is impossible he can be much in your way, and I could make it better worth your while to inform on him, and surrender him up."

"Teague O'Regan!" said the old lady, snuffing; "Teague O'Regan! I would have you know, sir, that no Teague O'Regans come here; we keep a house for the first gentlemen, not for waiters or understrappers, or any of the common sorts. There is no half crown or five shilling pieces here. Teague O'Regan, indeed! there is no Teague O'Regan at this house. We have meat for his master. I was saying there was a young woman just from the country, that

looks more like a woman of family, than a country girl; but is so melancholy and mopish, that she scarcely speaks, and stands in need of some one to talk to her, and comfort her; the foolish thing does nothing but cry and take on. I begin to wish she was out of my house, though she is fit for a governor. Teague O'Regan! Humph! There is no Teague O'Regan puts his foot into my door."

The captain assured her, that he by no means meant to give offence. That though the bog-trotter could not have access to her first rooms; yet he did not know but he might have got in with some of her under maids, and be about the kitchen.

The lady, being now appeased on the score of Teague, was in a good humour, and renewed her hints to the captain, with respect to the young woman. "She is," said she, "as good a looking girl as ever came to my house; and has not seen a single person but yourself, whom she has not yet seen; but may see, if you choose, and a very pretty girl she is; but seems to take on so, as if she was in some dungeon, instead of a respectable, genteel house. She keeps out of sight of every body, as if she was afraid; but I'll make her come out of that before long, I warrant you."

The captain being no stranger to the art of these wretches, was but little moved with the recommendation she had given. But as there were some circumstances in the account of the young woman that were a little striking, his curiosity was excited to let her be called in, and present herself. The old lady stepping out, a young woman made her appearance, of considerable beauty; but in her countenance, expressions of deep distress. Her blue eye seemed involved in mist; for she had no tears; her sorrow was beyond that.

"Young woman," said the captain, "it is easy to perceive that you have not been in this way of life long; and that you have been brought to it, perhaps, by some uncommon circumstances. My humanity is interested; and it occurs to me to ask, by what means it has come to pass."

"I am indeed, Sir, a wretched being, but not as bad as you suppose. I am here without knowing, until very lately, what kind of a place it is. I would escape, but I am closely watched, and I know not where to go. O, Sir, I am indeed miserable—do not sport with the feelings of an unhappy creature."—She then burst into tears. The captain reassured her, and at his earnest request she told her story as follows:

"My father lives at the distance of about twenty miles from this city, and is a man of good estate. I have two brothers, but no sisters. My mother dying when I was at the age of fourteen, I became housekeeper for the family.

"There was a young man that used to come to the same church to which we went. He was of the very lowest class, of homely features, and a diminutive person, but rather foppish in his dress. Yet he had the assurance to put himself in my way, on every occasion, endeavouring to catch my eye; for he did not dare to speak to me. But I hated him, and was almost resolved to stay at home on Sundays to avoid him; for he began to be very troublesome. His attentions to me were taken notice of by my brothers. They were confident that I must give him some encouragement, or he would not make such advances. My father was of the same opinion. I assured them I had never given him any encouragement, and I never would; that I was as much averse to him as possible.

"I shunned and hated him. He persisted a long time, almost two years, although occasionally absent, and seemed to become melancholy, and at last went away from the neighbourhood; and, as I heard afterwards, to sea. I began now to reflect upon his assiduity and endeavours to engage my affections. I recollected every circumstance of his conduct towards me, since the first time I was obliged to take notice of him. I reasoned with myself, that it was no fault of his, if he was a stranger, and poor, or had not all that comeliness of person which I wished in a husband;

yet he was sufficiently punished in his presumption in thinking of me, by what he must have suffered, and by his going to sea, which he did to get out of my sight, finding his attempts to gain my affections hopeless. I dreamed of him, and scarcely a moment of the day passed, but my thoughts were running on the dangers to which he was exposed. It seemed to me that if he came back I should be more kind to him. I might at least show him that I was not insensible of his attachment.

"In about a year he returned, and the moment I saw him I loved him. He did not dare to come to my father's house. But I could not help giving him encouragement by my countenance, when I met him in public. Emboldened by this, he at last ventured to speak to me, and I agreed that he might come to a peach orchard at some distance from my father's house, and that I would give him an interview. There he came often, and with a most lowly and humble behaviour, fixed my regard for him. Not doubting the violence of his love for me, and my ascendency over him, I agreed to elope with him to this city, where he said he had friends. But he proved to be a villian. He brought me to this horrid place, and was the same day arrested as one of a band of counterfeiters. I am lost, lost for ever! How can I ever return to my father, and my brothers! even my youngest brother, who always loved me most, will spurn me with contempt. How can I ever enter a decent house again? I have been here a week, and would not have seen you, but that something told me that I might meet some one to whom I could speak. But there is no hope for me—I can never again look any human being in the face—all my former acquaintances will scorn me." Here she wrung her hands in a paroxysm of grief.

Captain Farrago, a truly benevolent man, although no sentimentalist, was interested by the circumstances of her story. Said he, "Young woman, I greatly commiserate

your history and situation, and feel myself impelled to revenge your wrong. But the villain who has thus injured you, is out of my reach, in two respects: first, by his present situation; and second, being too contemptible and base to be pursued by my resentment, even on your account. But revenge is not your object, but support and restoration to your friends, and the good opinion of the world. As to money, it is not in my power to advance you any great sum; but as far as words can go, I could wish to serve you: not words to yourself only, but to others in your behalf. It is evident to me, that you have suffered by your own too great sensibility. It was your imagination that gave those attractions to his vile and uncomely person, by which you were deceived. You have been a victim to your own goodness, and not to his merit. The warmth of your heart has overcome the strength of your judgment; or rather, indeed, confiding in a man whom you have saved from all the pains and heart-felt miseries of unsuccessful love, you have become a sacrifice to your compassion and tenderness. I will endeavour to find out some person who may be disposed to assist you; and though it may be difficult for you to retrieve this unfortunate step, yet it is not impossible." So saying, he left the room; but the young woman, impressed with these last words especially, viz. the difficulty, if not the impossibility of regaining reputation, sunk down upon her chair, and could not pay him the compliment of thanks at his departure.

During the night, through the whole of which he lay awake, at the public house, he ruminated on the extraordinary nature of this incident, and the means which he would adopt to recover this woman from her unfortunate situation.

Thought he, I am in a city where there are a great body of the people called Quakers. This society, above all others, is remarkable for humanity and charitable actions. There is a female preacher, of whom I have heard, a Lydia Wil-

son: I will inform this good woman of the circumstance; and, if she gives me leave, I will bring this stray sheep to her; she may have it in her power to introduce her to some place, where, by needle-work and industry, she may live, until it may be in my power, taking a journey to her father, and stating the case, and giving my sentiments, to restore her to her family.

Early next morning, as soon as it could be presumed the Quaker lady had *set her house in order;* that is, after the family might be supposed to have breakfasted, which was about nine o'clock, the captain set out; and being admitted, stated to Mrs. Wilson the exact circumstances as before related. The pious woman readily undertook every office in her power; after which, the captain set out on his humane errand, but, at the door of the ill-omened abode, met a number of men coming out; and, on inquiry, found a coroner's inquest had just sat on the body of a young woman, who had, the preceding evening, suspended herself from the bed-post with her garter. Horror-struck, he hurried in, believing it must be the person he had so much in his thoughts. He found his belief but too well confirmed. Preparations were already made to bury her as soon as the few boards of a coffin could be put together. Large drops, of which he was unconscious, chased each other down his manly cheeks, as he contemplated the sad spectacle before him. These tears were embittered by self-reproach, for not having given stronger assurance of his interposition, which might have prevented the unhappy consequences of utter despair. The coffin being now ready, the funeral, if such it may be called, set out; for with the exception of two or three assistants and the carter, the captain was the only one to show respect to the sad remains of humanity; and after the interment was over, he was left alone at the grave, in what was called Potter's-field, for the manner of her death had deprived her of all claim to Christian burial in holy ground. A few moments having

passed in silent meditation, he gave vent in soliloquy to his overflowing sorrow.

"Earth, thou coverest the body of a lovely woman, and with a mind not less lovely; yet doomed, in her burial, to the same ground with unknown persons and malefactors; not that I think the circumstance makes any difference; but it shows the opinion of the world with respect to thy personal demerit. Nor do I call in question the justness of this opinion, having such circumstances whereon to found it. But I reflect with myself how much opinion, operating like a general law, may do injustice. It remains only with heaven's chancery to reach the equity of the case, and, in its decision, absolve her from a crime, or at least qualify that which was caused by the anguish of virtuous sensibility, unsupported by fortitude and reason, or strength of religious confidence. If the fair elements that compose her frame, shall ever again unite, and rise to life, and, as the divines suppose, her form receive its shape and complexion from her mental qualities and conduct on earth, she will lose nothing of her beauty. Her repentance was indeed sincere, but mis-directed, perhaps, for the want of advice of some kind, supporting friend. Let no one of her own sex judge of her last act, unless capable of placing herself, mentally, exactly in her situation. But that is impossible. Yet had she acted the nobler part of suffering, until overtaken by unavoidable death; or until snatched, as a brand from the fire, by the hand of the Almighty, she had shone at the last rising with superior brightness. Fallen to the last point of depression, He was about to relieve her, and the sequel of her days might have been happy and serene. It was a distrust of His providence. She heard my words, though she did not know my heart. But she erred against my thoughts; she eluded the grasp of my humanity. Yet, O world, thou dost her wrong, in sentencing her to so low a bed! Shall wealthy, but dishonest men—matrons, chaste, but cold and heartless—

shall these have monuments built over them, and occupy a consecrated spot, whilst thou, unworthy, art thrown amongst the rubbish of carcasses swept from jails, or emigrants unknown as to their origin and place?

"Farewell, lovely form, and let the grass grow green upon thy grave. Thy sorrows are expunged: but mine are awake, and will be so, until I shall have the same apathy of heart with thee."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Search after Teague continued—The captain visits the Philosophical Society.

RETURNING to his lodgings, he could not help reflecting, by the way, that probably poor Teague, mortified by repeated disappointments, in going to Congress, being suffered to preach, or be a member of the Philosophical Society; and what might afflict him still more, the not marrying the rich hostess, who had made him overtures, might, in his despair of ever coming forward in any respectable capacity in life, have suspended himself from a beam, or plunged into the river, and put an end to his existence, which, should it be the case, being in some measure accessary to this catastrophe of the bog-trotter, by dissuading him from these several pretensions, he could not acquit himself of guilt; at all events, he would feel great pain and sorrow.

Such were his reflections for a great part of this day, and he had thought of putting an advertisement in the paper, to know if any dead body had been lately discovered, or inquisition held on a young man with red hair, and a long leg, who had been missing some days, and was supposed to have hung or drowned himself. But in the evening, meditating thus, mention being made by some of the lodgers, of

going to hear the annual oration delivered before the Philosophical Society, by a member, it struck his mind, that possibly, Teague, falling in with some of this body, had been induced by them to take a seat, and might be present on that occasion. Not hesitating, therefore, he seconded the proposal of going, and offered to be of the party.

Coming to the hall, the philosophers were seated, but a black member sat with a taper before him, who, it seems, was to deliver the oration.

The fact was this: a gentleman of Maryland, of the name of Gorum, had sent to the society, some time before, a curiosity found by one of the negroes in the mud of Wye river, on the banks of which his seat was. It appeared to be a stone, with a cavity sufficient to receivē a man's foot, and was adjudged by the society to be an Indian's petrified moccasin. The singularity of the discovery, well entitling the gentleman to a seat, he was invited; but sending his compliments, he gave them to understand, that Cuff, (for that was the name of the negro,) was more entitled to that honour than he was, being the person who had found the curiosity; and as he made it a point to do his slaves justice in any perquisite of their own, he could not think of robbing one, on this occasion, of any honour, to which he might be introduced by this discovery.

The society approved his honesty and fair dealing, and by unanimous ballot, admitted the negro, who, having been a member some time, had been appointed to pronounce the annual oration. Cuff, a good deal disconcerted in hearing of the task imposed upon him, had applied to his master to know what to say. Colonel Gorum, attending a good deal to literary matters, had heard of an oration delivered before the society, the object of which was, to prove that the Africans had been once white, had sharp noses, and long hair; but that, by living in sunburnt climates, the skin had changed colour, the hair become frizzled, and in the course of gene-

ration, the imagination of the mother, presenting obtuse objects, had produced an offspring with flat noses. He therefore gave Cuff to understand, that it would be doing no more than justice to his countrymen, for he was a Guinea negro, if he should avail himself of this occasion, to prove that men were all once black, and that by living in snowy countries, and being bleached by the weather, the skin had gradually become white, and the hair moist and long, and the imagination presenting prominent objects to the mothers, or the fathers differing among themselves, and pulling one another by this part, had given the long and pointed nose.

Cuff, thus prepared, set out: having arrived, and being on this occasion to harangue, began as follows:—

THE ORATION.

"Massa shentiman; I be cash crab in de Wye river: found ting in de mud; tone, big a man's foot: holes like to he; fetch Massa: Massa say, it be de Indian Moccason—O! fat de call it; all tone. He say, you be a filasafa, Cuff: I say, O no, Massa, you be de filasafa. Wel! two tree monts afta, Massa call me, and say, 'You be a filasafa, Cuff, fo' sartin; Getta ready, and go dis city, and make grate peech for shentima filasafa.' I say, fat say, Massa? Massa say, somebody say, dat de first man was de fite man; but you say, dat de first man was de black a-man. Vel I set out: cam along: Massa gi me pass. Some say, where you go Cuff? I say, dis city, be a filasafa. Oh no, Cuff, you be no filasafa: call me fool, gi me kick i'de backside; fall down, get up again, and come to dis city.

"Now, shentiman, I say, dat de first man was de black a-man, and de first woman was de black a-woman: and get two tree children; de rain vasha dese, and de snow pleach, and de coula come brown, yella, coppa coula, and, at de last quite fite; and de hair long; and da fal out vid one

anoda; and van cash by de nose, an pull; so de nose come lang, sharp nose.

"Now I go home, Massa shentima; an tel grate Massa, dat make peech, an ibedy body vas da: an den Cuff fin a more tings—crabs, oysta, cat-fish bones, tones, ibedy ting —sen to you, shentima."

The oration being ended, the society could do no less than appoint a committee to wait on Mr. Cuff, and request a copy of his oration, that it might be published.

The captain in the mean time, had examined, with great attention the whole audience, but could not discover Teague. Departing, therefore, with the rest, his thoughts recurred to his first idea, viz. that the unfortunate creature had committed suicide. Drawing up, therefore, an advertisement, he sent it to a daily paper: but though it appeared next morning, and the day elapsed, there was no word of Teague.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Which contains a short inquiry into the causes of the diversity of colour in the human race, and an original theory on the subject.

THERE is no fact that has proved more stubborn than the diversity of the human species; especially that great extreme of diversity in the natives of Africa. How the descendants of Adam and Eve, both good-looking people, according to our idea of beauty, should ever come to be a negro, or even a mulatto man or woman, is puzzling.

Some have conjectured, that a black complexion, frizzled hair, a flat nose, and bandy legs, were the marks set on Cain, for the murder of his brother Abel. But, as the deluge drowned the whole world and only one family was saved, the blacks must have all perished, like the Mammoth, whose

bones are found on the Ohio, and other places, which was too big for Noah to get into the ark.

Some suppose, that it was the curse pronounced upon Canaan, the son of Noah, for looking at his father's nakedness. They got rid by this means of the difficulty of the flood; but by Moses' own account the Canaanites were the descendants of Canaan; and we do not hear of them being negroes, which, had it been the case, we cannot doubt would have been laid hold of by the Israelites, as a circumstance to justify their extirpating, or making slaves of them.

Lord Kaimes, in his Sketches of the History of Man, solves the difficulty, by supposing, that, at the building of Babel, there was a confusion of complexions, as well as languages. But, besides that it is not to be supposed that the historians would pass over so material a circumstance, without particularly mentioning it, it is introducing a miracle, which we are not warranted in doing unless expressly laid down to have been wrought.

The last theory, has been that of accounting for the change, from the climate, and accident of wind and weather; calling in aid, in the mean time, the imagination of the mothers. This does not appear altogether satisfactory. At least, there are those who would not be averse to hear some other solution of the difficulty. I have thought of one, which I would suggest with great diffidence; the authors of those before me being great men, and their hypothesis not to be lightly overthrown.

I am of opinion that Adam was a tall, straight-limbed, red-haired man, with a fair complexion, blue eyes, and an aquiline nose; and that Eve was a negro woman.

For what necessity to make them both of the same colour, feature, form, when there is beauty in variety? Do not you see in a tulip, one leaf blue, and another white, and some times the same leaf white and red?

As God made Adam in his own likeness, so it is to be supposed, that Adam begat some in his, and these were red-haired, fair-complexioned, blue-eyed, proportionably-featured boys and girls, while on the other hand, some took after the mother, and became negro men and women. From a mixture of complexion, the offspring, at other times, might be a shade darker, in one case, than the father; and a shade lighter, in another case, than the mother, and hence a diversified progeny, with a variety of features, from the bottle-nose to the mire snipe, which is that of the people in the west of Ireland; and from the auburn of the Corsican hair, to the golden locks of the Caledonian beauty; and from the black eye to the hazle and the grey.

It may be asked, how at the flood, when Noah, his wife, his three sons, and their wives, eight persons, only were saved? It is but giving some of the sons negro women for their wives, and you have the matter all right.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

No word yet of Teague—The captain goes to hear a Universalist preacher—Odd way taken by him to make inquiry after Teague.

Another day was passed over, and there was no word of Teague. In the evening, as it was usual with the gentlemen at the Indian Queen, to go to some place for the amusement of an hour or two, mention being made of a celebrated preacher, a Universalist, as he was called; that is, one who preaches the doctrine of Universal salvation; it was proposed to go to hear him, as he was to hold forth that evening. The captain readily consented, and it struck him as this was a new-fangled doctrine, that, conscious of his own infirmities, it would naturally please Teague, and it was not impossible but he might have become a disciple of this reformist, and be at his conventicle.

Coming in amongst the crowd, and obtaining seats, they saw the preacher ascend the pulpit, and, after the preliminary exercise of psalms and prayer, take a text and begin his sermon.

His text was taken from one of those passages of Scripture, which speaks of "the lion lying down with the kid, and the tiger with the lamb," which have been interpreted of the Millennium, but were applied by him to that period, when, as the sea shall give up her dead, so hell shall give up her damned, and the devil himself shall come to lick salt out of the hand of an angel.

Enlarging on this doctrine, and supporting it with a variety of proofs from Scripture, and arguments from reason, he seemed to have brought the matter to a point, answering all objections, and closing in with the hearer. At this stage, using that figure of oratory which is usual in the pulpit, of asking questions, and pressing for an answer, but expecting none; he would say, "is not this conclusive? Is it not evident? Is there any here can advance an argument against it? Will any of you speak?—I pause for an answer."

Mr. M'Donald, in the mean time, (the Scotch gentleman who happened to be there,) thinking him really serious, and that he wanted an answer, or taking advantage of the pause and the interrogation, to speak his mind, leaning over the front of a back seat, made reply:

"Why," said he, "I like the doctrine well enough, and ha' na' disposition to o'erthrow it. I dinna muckle care if there were na' hell ava. If ye could make that out, I wad rather hear it, than o' being smoked twa or three thousand years in the devil's nuke, or singed wi' his burnt brimstone, even if we should get out afterwards. Ye need na' put yourself in a passion, or be flee'd that you'll get no proselytes, for I shall warrant you, as many every night as ye can weel stow awa i' the conventicle."

The preacher giving thanks to God for the success of his

ministry, in the remarkable conversion of the man who spoke, the Scotch gentleman said again, "Ye need na' ca' it a conversion, for I ha' been o' the same opinion a' my life, that it was a sare thing to bide the kiln of hell, and they wad deserve muckle thanks wha could establish that we should na' stay long in it, and that there was na' such place ava."

The preacher commenting upon this, observed that some were orthodox from their birth, like Jeremiah, who was sanctified in his mother's womb; but others were hardly brought to the truth with much teaching and instruction. That the present was a happy instance of one who was in the right way from his very early years.

The captain in the mean time had been thinking of the doctrine, and thought it reasonable to suppose, that the Almighty might relieve, after some time, and let the devils go. Just as with himself at the present is the case of Teague: if he had got his hands on the bog-trotter, he could not help being very angry, and would be disposed to punish him with great severity, but after some time he knew his passion would subside, and would forget his delinquencies.

Teague in this manner running in his head, as the people, after some epilogue of prayer and benediction, being dismissed, were retiring, he got up, and raising his voice, begged the audience to detain a little.—"Good people," said he, "if any of you should come across a young man, a servant of mine, of the name of Teague O'Regan, I shall thank you to send me notice to the Indian Queen where I lodge. And, according to the advertisement in this day's paper, I will give two dollars reward."

Thinking him deranged in his brain, they proceeded, and took no notice of the proclamation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Containing a brief commentary vpon the doctrine of universal salvation.

In the infancy of Christianity it was thought a hard matter to get to heaven, and that when once in hell, there was no getting out. A certain father of the church, of the name of Origen, was the first to be more liberal in his sentiments, and thought that after a certain period, there would be a jail-delivery of the damned. I do not know that he went so far as to let the devils themselves out upon a furlough, but at the present time, we all know very well, that the time will come when they will be out all together; at least the universalists tell us this, and prove it.

The doctrine was received in some part by the early councils, but in other parts rejected. The matter was compounded by establishing a purgatory; for not consenting to liberate from hell, in order to satisfy the advocates of a temporary punishment, they fixed upon a middle place, where all the advantages of penal purgation could be enjoyed, without the necessity of contradicting the eternity of hell torments.

Indeed under the Catholic church, the *straight gate*, and *the narrow way*, and *the many called and few chosen*, was a good deal laid aside, and the road made pretty plain by indulgences and absolutions. But at the reformation, the matter was brought back to its old bed again, and the cry of there being but a *remnant* saved, was raised in every pulpit. There had been some relaxation of late years with almost every sect of protestants; and there is not just such a fury of tumbling great crowds into the tolbooth, as there was in the days of John Knox, and the framers of the Westminster confession of faith, and the catechisms. Dr. Bellamy, a

New England divine, some years ago, stated in his pamphlet, that the damned would be to the saved, as the malefactors of a country, that came to an untimely end by jail or gibbet to honest people. Some now preach boldly, not perhaps a total exemption from future punishment, but a final restoration from it; so that the matter is now brought nearly to what it was in the days of Origen. I do not know that I would be of opinion with the Scotch gentleman, and wish the matter carried farther, establishing that there is no hell at all; because, if the thing should take a turn, it might go the other extreme, and be all hell, so that none should be saved: and instead of universal salvation, we should then have the doctrine of the damnation of the whole, bodily.

CHAPTER XXX.

Captain Farrago visits the hall of Congress, in search of Teague, but without succcess, although some he saw there resembled him —The debates—Goes to the University and makes a ludicrous discovery, but not of Teague.

THE next day, revolving every thing in his mind, it occurred to the captain that the Irishman might have gone out of town, hearing of an election at a district, and have been elected to Congress. As that body was then sitting, he thought it could be no great trouble to go to the house, and cast an eye from the gallery, and see if the ragamuffin had got there. There was one that had a little of the brogue of Teague upon his tongue, but nothing of his physiognomy; others had a good deal of his manner, but there was none that came absolutely up to the physic of his person.

However, being here, the captain thought it not amiss to listen awhile to the debates upon the carpet. A certain bill was depending, and made, it seems, the order of the day.

Mr. Cogan being on the floor, spoke:—"Sir," said he, addressing himself to the chair, "the bill in contemplation is, in my opinion, of a dangerous tendency. I will venture to foretell, that, if it goes into a law, the cows will have fewer calves, and the sheep less wool; hens will lay fewer eggs, and the cocks forget to crow day-light. The horses will be worse shod, and stumble more; our watches go too slow; corns grow upon our toes; young women have the stomach-ache; old men the gout; and middle-aged persons, fainting fits. The larks will fall dead in the field; the frogs croak till they burst their bags; and the leaves of the trees fall before the autumn. Snow will be found in the heat of harvest, and the dog-days in winter. The rivers will revert—and the shadows fall to the east in the morning. The moon will be eclipsed, and the equinoxes happen at a wrong season of the year. Was it not such a bill as this that changed the old style; that made the eclipse in the time of Julius Cesar; that produced an earthquake at Jamaica, and sunk Port Royal? All history, both ancient and modern, is full of the mischiefs of such a bill. I shall therefore vote against it."

Mr. Bogan was now on the floor, and advocated the good effects of the bill.

"Sir," said he, addressing himself to the chair, "I appear in support of the bill. I say, it will have a good effect on the physical world especially. The ducks will be fatter, the geese heavier, and the swans whiter. The red-birds sing better, and partridges come more easily into traps. It will kill rats, muzzle calves, and cut colts; and multiply the breed of oysters, and pickle codfish. It will moderate the sun's heat, and the winter's cold; prevent fogs, and cure the ague. It will help the natural brain, brace the nerves, cure sore eyes and the colic, and remove rheumatisms. Consult experience, and it will be found that provisions of the nature proposed by this bill, have an astonishing influence

in this respect, where they have been tried. I must take the liberty to say, the gentleman's allegations are totally *unfounded;* and he has *committed* himself in the matter of his history; the earthquakes in Jamaica not happening in the time of Julius Cæsar; and therefore could have nothing to do with the eclipse of the sun. I shall, therefore vote in favour of the bill."

Mr. Cogan rose to explain, and said, "that he did not say that the earthquake at Jamaica was at the same time with the eclipse of the sun, which happened at the birth of Julius Cesar."

Mr. Bogan rose to correct the gentleman: "It was not at the birth of Julius Cesar, but at his death, that the earthquake happened."

Mr. Hogan was on the floor: said, "he thought he could reconcile the gentlemen on that head. It was well known, Julius Cesar lived about the time of the rebellion in Scotland, a little after Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Jews. As to the earthquake, he did not remember what year it happened, and therefore could say nothing about it."

At this period, the question being called, it was put and carried by a majority of fifteen.

The captain, satisfied with this sample of congressional debates, retired, and came to his lodgings.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, that some one, who read the advertisement respecting Teague, came to the captain, and informed him that a person, answering to the description, had been lately employed to teach Greek in the University. Struck with the idea, that the bog-trotter might have passed himself for a Greek scholar, whereas he understood only Irish, he set out to the University to make inquiry. Knocking at the door of the principal, he was admitted; and, being seated, addressed him, as follows: said he, "Sir, a pedeseque of mine, (for talking to a rector of a college, he did not choose to use the vulgar terms—waiter,

or bog-trotter,) a pedeseque of mine, whom I have found useful, save that he is somewhat troublesome in pretending to places of appointment, for which he is not qualified: a thing, by the by, too common in this country: where men, without the aid of academic knowledge, thrust themselves into places requiring great learning and ability: [This he said to flatter the man of letters; as if a man could know but little that had not been furbished at his school.] I say, this pedeseque of mine has absconded for some days, and I have been able to collect no account of him until last evening, that a person, having read an advertisement of mine in the Gazette, came to me, and informed, that one answering the description I had given, both as to appearance and accomplishments, had been lately employed as Professor of the Greek Language in this University. Now, though I well know this Paddy, as I may call him, to understand no Greek, yet as he speaks Irish, and has much assurance, and little honesty in matters where his ambition is concerned, I did not know but he might have imposed himself upon you for a Greek scholar, and obtained a professorship."

The principal made answer, that it was true that a person from Ireland had been lately employed in that capacity, and that should he be discovered to be an impostor, it would be using the University very ill. The captain thought so too; and taking it for granted that it was Teague, expressed his surprise that they had not examined him before he was admitted; or at least had such proof by letters, as would have ascertained his being qualified. The principal observed, that as to examination, they had no one at hand to examine, as there were none of the trustees or professors of other other branches in the University, who understood Greek; as for himself he did not, having not studied it in early life, and for a series of years having given himself to politics and mathematics; so that, unless they could send out for a Roman Catholic priest, or a Scotch clergyman, there was

none to examine. The improbability of any person passing himself, above all things, for a master of the Greek language, on the score of understanding Irish, was such, that it never came into their heads to suspect it, so as to demand letters.

"Had you known," said the captain, "this bog-trotter of mine, (here he forgot the word pedeseque) as well as I do, you would not be surprised at his attempting any thing: and that he should be now in your academy giving Greek lectures, understanding nothing but the vernacular tongue of his own country." Here he gave an account of his setting up for Congress, &c., as explained in the preceding part of this narrative.

However, wishing to see the ragamuffin, that he might unkennel him, he was accompanied by the principal to the chamber of the pseudo professor, considering, as he went along, in what manner he should accost him; whether he should break out upon him with a direct invective, or with ironical words; such as, "Mr. Professor, you must be a very learned man, not only to understand Irish, but Greek: but perhaps the Greek and Irish languages are much the same. It must be so, for I know that a few days ago you did not understand a word of this, and to acquire a dead language in such a short time would be impossible, unless the living tongue was a good deal a-kin to it. But I had never understood that Irish had any more affinity to the language of Athens and Sparta, than the Erse, or the German, or the Welsh: however, we must live and learn, as the saying is; you have shown us what we never knew before."

Conning a speech of this sort in his own mind, with a view to divert the principal, and amuse himself with Teague, he entered the chamber of the professor, who sat in an elbow chair, with Thucidydes before him.

What was the surprise of the captain, to find that it was not Teague?

In fact, it was a person not wholly unlike him, espe-

cially in a tinge of the brogue which he betrayed in his discourse: for, though the professor was really a man of education, having been early sent to St. Omer's, where he had studied, being intended for a priest, and understood not only the Greek and Latin, but spoke French: yet, in the pronunciation of the English tongue, he had that prolongation of the sound of a word, and articulation of the vowel o, which constitutes what is vulgarly called the brogue, as being the pronunciation of the native Irish, who being an oppressed people, are most of them poor—and wear a kind of mean shoe, which they call a brogue.

After an apology to the professor for mistaking him for a certain Teague O'Regan, whom he had in his employment; at the request of the professors, the principal and the captain took seats.

The professor said, his name was not O'Regan, being O'Dougherty; but he knew the O'Regans very well in Ireland. There was a Paddy O'Regan in the same class with him at St. Omer's, when he read Craike. That he was a good scholar, and understood Craike very well; and he would be glad if he was over in this country to teach Craike here; it appeared to be a very scarce language; but he had become a praste, and was now a missionary at Paraguay, in South America.

The captain, punning on his pronunciation of the word Greek, and willing to amuse himself a little with the professor, could not help observing, that he was under a mistake as to the scarceness of the Craike language in these states. That there were whole tribes who spoke the Craike language: there was that of the heron, and the raven, and several other fowls.—A German professor, who was present, apprehending the captain to be under a mistake, and willing to correct him, observed: "It is," said he, "the Creek language that the professor means."—"As to that," said the captain, "it is also spoken plentifully in America. There

is a whole nation of Indians on the borders of South Carolina and Georgia, that speak the Creek language, men, women, and children."

The professor, knowing more of the classics than of the geography of these United States; and of the heathen gods more than of the aborigines of this country, expressed astonishment. "If what you tell me be a trut," said he, "it is a crate discovery:—perhaps dese may have de fragments o' de books o' de philosophers and poets dat are lost, and de professors cannot come across in deir own countries: but I have tought dat de Craike language was spoke only in de Morea, and a little in Russia and Constantinople."

The captain assured him, the principal favouring the mistake by a grave face, and bowing as the captain spoke, that it was absolutely the vernacular language of these people.

"Why den," said the other, "do dey not get professors from amongst dese to tache Craike in deir colleges?"

"Because," said the captain, "we have been heretofore on hostile terms with these Indians, and it is but of late that we have made a peace. But now, it is presumed, we will have it in our power to procure from them able teachers."

The professor was alarmed at this, as supposing it would supersede the necessity of his services; or, at least, much reduce the price of his tuition. He could have wished he had not come to this quarter of the world: and was almost ready, in his own mind, to bind up what he had, and go back to Clogher.

So ended the visit to the University, and the captain withdrew.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The captain visits the secretary at war to inquire for Teague, thinking he might have been passed for an Indian chief, and of what occurred thereon.

Our chevalier was now at his wit's end, not being able to conceive of any other place in which Teague might be found; when all at once it came into his head (led to it, perhaps, from the reference, in his late conversation, to the Indian tribes,) that probably he might have fallen in with the Indian treaty man, and have been prevailed on to personate a chief. It appeared to him, therefore, advisable, to go directly to the secretary at war, to know if any party of Indians had been there lately to negotiate a treaty.

Being introduced, and after some ceremony accosting the secretary, he gave him to understand why it was that he had the honour to wait upon him, viz. that he had a servant by the name of Teague O'Regan, who had been absent some days, and that from a circumstance which happened in the way to the city, he had reason to suspect, he might have been picked up by a certain Indian treaty man, to supply the place of a Welch blacksmith, who had died, and had passed for a chief of the Kickapoos.

The secretary stared at his visitor for some moments with surprise, mingled with displeasure, believing him to be some wag, that had come to make this inquiry by way of burlesque on the Indian treaties; and with some irritation of mind, gave him to understand, that there had been no Indian treaty man, or Kickapoo chief there; that no treaty had been held with the Indians for above a month past, since the king of the Togamogans had drawn goods; but treaty or no treaty, it ill became him, in the appearance of a gentleman, to throw

a burlesque on government, by insinuating that his Irishman could be imposed upon them for a chief.

"I mean no burlesque," said the captain, a little irritated in his turn; "I have had too much trouble to keep him from the Indian treaty man that was coming here, to be disposed to jest with so serious an affair. The hair-breadth escape of going to Congress, or being licensed as a preacher, or being chosen as a member of the philosophical society, was nothing to this, as it was so difficult to guard against it, the Indian recruiters imitating savages, not only in their dress and painting, but in the dexterity to way-lay and surprise."

"I wish you to know, Sir," said the secretary, "that I comprehend your burlesque very well. But though you and others may misrepresent our policy in the Indian treaties, it is base irony and ridicule to insinuate that the Indians we treat with are not chiefs."

"Chiefs, or no chiefs," said the captain, "I am not saying, nor care; but only wish to know if you have been instituting any treaty with my Teague who has been absent some days."

"I will be much obliged to you to withdraw from my office," said the secretary.

"I shall withdraw," said the captain, "and not with that respect for your understanding and politeness which I could have wished to entertain. I have addressed you with civility; and I was entitled to a civil answer; but I see the 'insolence of office,' is well enumerated by the poet, amongst the evils that make us sick of life. Your humble servant, Monsieur Secretary, I shall trouble you no further."

Returning to the Indian Queen, a play bill for the evening had announced the performance of the tragedy of Macbeth, and a farce called the Poor Soldier. A party of the gentlemen from the public house, had taken a box, and the captain agreed to go with them to the play. Having delivered their tickets, and being admitted to the box, the captain

almost involuntarily cast his eyes upon the pit and galleries, to observe if he could any where descry the physiognomy of Teague. As before, when with the same view he surveyed the members of Congress, he could discover several that resembled him; but yet not the identical person. The curtain being now drawn, the play began. Nothing material occurred during the performance of the tragedy, save that when the witches came in, there was one in her cap and broomstick, whose features strongly resembled the Irishman's, and who, had she not been an old woman and a witch, might have passed for Teague. The captain's attention was forcibly arrested by the similarity of features, and stout frame of the bog-trotter, covered with a short gown and petticoat; and borrowing a glass from one that sat in the box with him, endeavoured to reconnoitre more perfectly, and could have sworn that it was the mother or sister of Teague, that had just come from Ireland and joined the company.

The tragedy being ended, the farce began to be acted, and who should come forward in the character of Darby, but the long sought for Teague. The fact was, he had before appeared in the tragedy, in the character of an overgrown witch. It was more natural for him to appear in the character of Darby, his own countryman; for he spoke with the brogue naturally, and not by imitation. The managers had had him all the while of his absence, under tuition, teaching him his part, which was not difficult to do—the manner and pronunciation being already his own.

It was this that induced the managers to take him up as a substitute; the person who actually played the part of Darby, having in a drunken frolick enlisted as a soldier. As the natural squeal of a pig is superior to the imitation of it; so it was allowed by the audience, that Teague exceeded the pseudo Irishman that usually performed this part. All were pleased but his master, whose sense of propriety

could scarcely restrain him from throwing his cane at the bog-trotter. Thought he with himself, what avails it that I prevented him from taking a seat in a legislative body, or from preaching, or being a philosopher; if, after all, he has relinquished my service, and turned player; a thing, no doubt, fitter for him, than the being a senator, or clergyman, or philosopher: because he can appear in some low character, in the comedy or farce, and come off tolerably enough. For though among the dramatis personæ of learned bodies, there are Tony Lumpkins, and Darby M'Faddins in abundance, yet there ought to be none; and Teague had better be on the stage than in such capacities, since he must be somewhere. But to leave me without notice, after all my kindness, and what I intended to do still farther for him, is ungrateful, and deserves all that I can say bad concerning him. I shall give myself no farther trouble on this head; but let him take his course: I must endeavour to find another servant to supply his place.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Captain Farrago thinks of purchasing a negro, and has a conversation with a Quaker on the subject of slavery.

The foregoing had been the reflections of the captain during the exhibition of the farce. But the play being ended, and having come home, the next day he began to put his resolution in practice; and to think how he could supply himself with another servant. He thought of purchasing a negro; and mentioning this to the company at breakfast, at the Indian Queen, one of the people called Quakers, who was present, and overheard the conversation, made an apology for the liberty he took in making some objections.

"Friend," said he, "thee appears to be a discreet man from thy behaviour, and conversation; and if thee will not be offended, I would ask if thee canst reconcile it with thy principles, to keep a slave?"—"As to that," said the captain, "I have thought upon the subject, and do not see any great harm in the matter. If we look to inanimate nature, we shall find, that the great law is Force. The Cartesians call it pressure and suction: The Newtonians call it attraction and gravitation. The sun, the largest body in the system, endeavours to draw all towards it; while the lesser globes struggle to fly off at a tangent. The denser, that is, denser air, takes place of the rare; and the heavier particles of water cause the lighter to recede. The tall oak overshades the underwood. There is a predominancy, and subordination in all things. In the animal creation, the weak is always subject to the strong; who even devour them, when the flesh suits their appetite: and the very teeth and jaw-bone of carnivorous animals, show the intention of nature, that they should make a prey of living creatures. Do you blame yourselves, when you subjugate elephants, or horses, or oxen of the plough, to your use? What right have you to invade the liberty of a playful young colt, more than of an African inhabitant? Or have you not as good a right to take up a negro, and put him to your work, as you have to cut a calf, and manufacture him for the draft."

"In this case there is a difference," said the Quaker; "a negro is a human creature, and possesses all the natural rights of man."

"That may be," said the captain. "But what are the natural rights of men? Are they not finally resolvable, as in the inanimate world, into power on the one hand, and weakness on the other?

"Who is it, that abstains from dominion, when he has it in his power to assert it? Power is the great law of nature; and nothing but the pacts or conventions of society can

contravene it. I should think myself justifiable in making any man a slave to answer my purposes, provided I treated him well while he was such. This I take to be the only condition which the law of reason annexes to the enjoyment of such property. I may be warranted in taking, and managing an animal of the horse kind; but it is my indisputable duty not to abuse him by causing him to suffer famine, or endure too much toil. The same with any other animal that I enslave; there is a tacit condition annexed to the grant which the law of nature gives; that the service be exacted with moderation; and proper nourishment provided. I admit also, that humanity would dictate that the happiness of a slave ought to be consulted as much as is consistent with my own convenience. For instance: if I had the Grand Turk in my power, as he has been accustomed to a soft and effeminate way of living, it would be hard to put him all at once to maul rails, or clearing out meadow ground; or if it should fall in my way to have Catharine of Russia in that capacity, as she is a woman of an elevated mind, it would be inhuman to put her to the lowest drudgery, such as scrubbing out rooms, and carrying water from the pump: but rather indulge her if I could afford it, with a more easy employment, especially as she is an old woman, of knitting stockings, and carding wool. There is no man would be more disposed to treat a slave with tenderness than myself, but to deny me of my right altogether, of making one, or of trafficking for one when made, is carrying the matter too far.

"So much for the right of enslaving. But if we put it on the principle of what will conduce to the aggregate happiness of mankind, we shall find it to be, that there should be master and servant, or in other words owner and slave. The economy of nature illustrates this, in the subserviency of one thing to another. But independent of any illustration, it must be known on reflection, and is felt in

experience, that all is not competent to all things; and in the case of temporary servants, much time is taken up in contracting with them for their remanence; and it is a considerable time before they get into the habit of our service; and, having it in their power to retire from us when inclination may direct, there is an insecurity in the attachment. But as the slave has the master always to provide for him; so the master has the slave always to subserve him: and thus by a conjoint interest, the felicity of both is promoted, and the sum of human happiness increased. Hence it is, that most nations have made use of slaves. The patriarch Abraham had threescore-and-ten servants born in his house. What were these but slaves? The Jews, his descendants, had bond-men, and bond-women: Were not these slaves? The Roman slaves were more in number than the citizens; and amongst the Greeks, the most virtuous of them, the Spartans, kept in their service the most depressed of all slaves, the Helots; who, when we consider the black broth, the food, and severe life of the masters, must have lived on poor fare, and in a laborious service indeed.

"But it may be said, That example of wrong never constitutes right. Grant it: but if you examine the capacities, and even inclinations of men, will you not find that some are qualified only to be slaves? They have not understanding to act for themselves. Nor do all love freedom, even when they have it—do not many surrender it, and prefer kissing a great man's posteriors, to being independent? It is not always, even from the views of advantage, that men are sycophants; but from an abstract pleasure in being drawn into the vortex of others. There is a pleasure in slavery, more than unenslaved men know. Why is it, that even after the convulsion of a revolution in a government, in favour of liberty, there is a natural tendency to slavery; and it finally terminates in this point? The fact is, a state of liberty is an unnatural state. Like a bone out of place,

the mind, in an individual, or political capacity, seeks the condition of a master or servant; avoiding, as the particular propensity may be, the one or the other. There cannot be a greater proof that this is founded in nature, than the common moral observation, that the greatest tyrants, that is, the worst masters, make the most abject slaves, and *vice versa*, that the most subservient of mankind, when you give them power, make the worst use of it. All this because, in these cases, the persons are misplaced, and not in their proper stations. Julius Cæsar made a humane generous master; but he would have made a very intriguing, troublesome valet de chambre. It would have been impossible to have got any good of him. On the other hand, Tiberius would have made an excellent hostler, and taken a beating, with as much resignation as a house beagle, who is used to it. So that it evidently is the provision of nature, that there are materials of slavery; and the fault of those whom she intends for master, if they do not make slaves. But as it is difficult to determine, *a priori*, who are intended for slavery or freedom, so as to make a judicious distribution, things must take their course; and the rule be, catch, who catch can; and every man have a servant when he can get one. It is in vain to be squeamish, and stick at colour. It is true, I would rather have a white person, if such could be got; as I prefer white to black, especially in the summer season, as being a more light and airy colour."

"Thy reasoning," said the Quaker, "is more rhetorical than logical; and thy analogies of nature, and historical proofs, cannot so far oppress the light within, as to make me think, that it is given to thee, or me, to make slaves of our species."

"As to that," said the captain, "I am not clear that a negro is of our species. You may claim kindred with him if you please; but I shall not."

"I shall not dispute that with thee," said the Quaker:

"for I perceive thee does not give credit to what the book says of the first man, and his descendants. But will thee not grant me, that the African, though not of the same stock, is, at least a man; that is, of the human genus, though the species of the white and the black may not be the same; if so, hast thou more right to enslave him, than he thee?"

"Grant it," said the captain; "for my reasoning tends to that, and resolves the right into the power."

"If so," said the Quaker, "thee may be the slave in thy turn."

"Doubtless," said the captain; "and it is not of so much consequence who is the slave as that there be one. It is better that the foot be foot, and the head be head; but if there is a conversion, nevertheless, let there be head and foot. It is necessary that there be domination and subjection, in order to produce a compound improvement and advantage."

You could see by the Quaker's countenance, that he thought the reasoning sophistical; but as he did not know very well what he could say more, he was silent.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Containing some grave remarks on the subject of the preceding chapter.

It is thought by some, the captain was not serious in thus advocating the cause of slavery.* Be that as it may, he omitted some serious arguments, that naturally present themselves on that side on which he reasoned. For instance, it strikes me at first blush, that there can be no moral wrong

* All the arguments, both for and against slavery, may be found in these few ironical pages, presented to the mind with singular distinctness and vivacity.

in catching a young African, and bringing him away from his own happiness to pursue ours. For if there were, is it to be supposed, that humane and just persons would promote and support the evil, by purchasing such negro, and retaining him, and his offspring, when purchased? For, on the principle that the receiver is the thief, or to speak more strictly, a thief; the purchaser of the African takes the guilt along with the possession; and in the language of the law, every act of retainer is a new trespass. For the evil of the original act, if there be evil in it, cannot be rendered pure by the filtration of purchase, and retaining. So that the holder of the negro, in the tenth transmission, is an aider, or abettor, of the original act of taking; if I may use the word aider, or abettor, in a case of trespass, where, by the definition of the law, all who any way concur in the act, and further it, are *principals*. The holder of a negro must, therefore, look back to that act which first made him, or an ancestor, a slave; and if he cannot justify the retaining him in servitude:—What a consequence must this be! There is no man that pretends to humanity, much less to religion, would be safe in being the possessor of a slave. The only way therefore to get rid of the difficulty is to justify, *ab origine*, traffic in all such property.

That it is justifiable I have no doubt. Is there any religious denomination, except the fanatical people called Quakers, that have made it a term of communion not to hold a slave? In admitting to church privileges, I have never heard of the question asked, Have you any negroes, and do you keep slaves? If it was a matter of conscience, would not conscientious persons themselves make it?

The assemblies of synods of the Presbyterian church, or conventions of the Episcopal, in America, have said nothing on this subject. Is an omission of this kind reconcilable with the idea, that it is a natural evil, or a moral wrong?

In the phrenzy of the day, some weak-minded powers in Europe begin to consider what is called the African trade as a moral wrong, and to provide for a *gradual* abolition of it. If they will abolish it, I approve of its being done gradually; because, numbers being embarked in this trade, it must ruin them all at once, to desist from it. On this principle, I have always thought it a defect in the criminal codes of most nations, not giving license to the perpetrators of offences, to proceed, for a limited time, in larcenies, burglaries, &c., until they get their hands out of use to these pursuits, and in use to others. For it must be greatly inconvenient to thieves and cut-throats, who have engaged in this way of life, and run great risks in acquiring skill in their employment, to be obliged all at once to withdraw their hands, and lay aside picking locks, and apply themselves to industry in other ways for a livelihood.

The law of Pennsylvania on this principle, has provided for the *gradual abolition* of the slavery of negroes; for those who have got them could not do without them, no more than one can do without the money he has obtained by unlawful means, being compelled by necessity to resort to this mode of recruiting his purse. All those therefore who have been originally taken from the coast of Africa, and deprived of liberty, or descended from such, and inheriting slavery, when recorded agreeably to the act in question, continue slaves, and for life, and their offspring to a certain period. But were we to entrammel the case with *political* or *moral* doubts respecting the original right of caption, and subjugation, the difficulty would exist of reconciling it with *natural right to hold a slave for a moment even whether the law sanctioned it or not;* in which case we should find it necessary to go as far as the fanatics in religion, and set our slaves *free altogether.*

It is from duly attending to this circumstance, that abstract reasoners talk of abolition; a doctrine which, how-

ever absurd, is becoming the whim of the day; and the phrenzy seems to gain such ground, that I would not wonder if they would next assert that it is unlawful to use the servitude of horses, or other beasts of burden, as having a natural right to live in the fields, and be as free as mankind. The best way to avoid the extremes, is to check the principle; I hold the right of absolute subjugation of whites, blacks, and browns of all nations, against gradual abolition, or any abolition whatsoever. This being the only consistent principle, short of an absolute emancipation, made instantly; for in no *mean* is there reason, or a rest for conscience.

That it is of importance to settle the consciences of sober-minded persons in Pennsylvania, clergymen, and members of the Presbyterian church especially, who have negroes, must be well known from that tenderness of conscience, for which such are remarkable.* Some, indeed, carry their ideas of the extent of duties so far, as not to omit grace at meals, or the formal worship of prayer, reading chapters, and singing psalms on the set occasions, on any consideration whatsoever; what is more, would not shave a beard on the Sabbath day for a cow. Now, should they, by any means, come once to think of the wickedness of enslaving men, there would be no getting them to keep a negro. For those of this denomination, and, indeed, most, or all others of the Christian, hold that the African, though of a sable race, is of their own species; being descended from Adam. —This being the case, a slight matter, the bare directing their attention to the subject, would alarm pious people, and lead them to the favourite maxim of the gospel—"Do to others, as you would have others to do to you."

As opposed to the enfranchisement of negroes, generally,

* The law for the *gradual* abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, had been passed a few years before, but its effects had not yet become visible.

and in Pennsylvania in particular, I have been under apprehensions, that some of our young lawyers in the courts, might plead the constitution of the state, by which it is established that "all *men* are born equally free and independent." Now admitting that a negro is a man, how shall any master retain him as a slave? On a habeas corpus, he must be set at liberty. At least I cannot conceive how the judge could remand him to his drudgery. The constitution is the law paramount, and framed by a convention of the people, recognising the original right of freedom in a negro, allowing him to be a man; and carries us above the act of the legislature for the gradual abolition, &c. which by implication seems to suppose that the negroes may be slaves: —An implication inconsistent with the power exercised by the law. For if negroes were slaves, and so the *property* of those who claimed them, could the legislature affect that property without indemnification to the masters?

I shall say no more on this head, lest I should furnish hints to pettifoggers, who may make an ill use of their information.

In truth this chapter, in the first edition of this book, or something else, gave rise to a habeas corpus in the case of a negro: and which came to trial in the Supreme court of the state. The argument occupied a whole week; but it was determined that slavery by law did exist in Pennsylvania, maugre the constitution; which did not respect those in a state of slavery at the time of forming the constitution, and who were not parties to the *compact;* that it is a claim of property founded in wrong; but tolerated, until it can be consentient with general safety, and the happiness of the slave and master to abolish it altogether.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Teague returns of his own accord, and gives a shocking account of his treatment by the managers of the theatre—Goes to a lawyer for advice—The uncertainty of the law.

JUST at this moment a waiter coming in, told him there was a person without, that is, in the bar-room, who wished to speak with him. Going out, he saw Teague.

The fact was, being elated with the success of his performance on the stage, attributing that to art which was nature itself, he had counted more upon his accomplishments than he ought to have done, and had made advances to the mistress of the manager, who was also an actress, and not greatly coveting an amour with the bog-trotter, made a merit of the circumstance, to induce an opinion of fidelity, and informed the manager of the presumption of the Irishman. The manager in the most unbecoming manner, without either citation, examination, trial, conviction, or judgment, but laying aside all forms of law, had instituted an original process of himself, and laying hold of a horse-whip, had applied this implement to the back and shoulders of Teague; and as the Irishman made an effort of resistance at the first onset, the manager had been under the necessity, by turning the butt-end of the whip, to knock him down, which he did by a stroke above the left eyebrow, which not only bereft him of senses for the present, but a discoloration of the eye for some days, and a scar probably his whole life after.

It was this incident had induced him to leave the theatre, and brought him back to the captain, whom he now accosted in the following manner: "Dear master, for de love of salvation, forgive a poor sarvant dat has been killed dis marning wid a great cudgel, just for nothing at all, but not pleasing a

famale woman, dat wanted me to stale de manager's cloathing, and go off wid her. Dis is all dat a poor sarvant gets by being anest; but by saint Patrick, and de holy crass, it is what I desarve for laving de sarvice of a good master, as your anour, and taking up wid bog-tratters, and stage-players, dat would sooner take a cup of wine dan de holy sacrament, and get drunk every night in de wake, and go to the divil head foremost; but if your anour, dear master, will forgive de past, and my running away, and laving you, I will come back again, and sarve you to de day of judgment, or any langer time dat your anour plases, and clane your boots and spurs, and rub down de bay harse; de poor old crature, how aften I have tought of him when I was in my rambles, and he was aslape, for fear dey should chate him of his oats, and give him nather hay nor straw to ate; for I always liked to take care of a good harse, and a good master; and aften tought of your anour, when I was among de bog-tratters of de stage, and gave you a good name, and was always talking of you and forgot my part, and put de managers in a passion, and for dat same, dey fell upon me, and bate me like a dog entirely."

The captain saw the inconsistency in the relation, one while alleging the tale-bearing of the mistress, as the occasion of it; again, a deficiency in the recital of his part; but expecting no truth from the Irishman, cared very little how it came to pass. The principal that occupied his thoughts was, whether to receive the bog-trotter, or dismiss him. He reflected with himself on the trouble he had had with him, on his various pretensions to advancement; his uneasiness of mind and fatigue of body, for several days past, in examining stews, methodistical conventicles, rummaging philosophical societies, attending elections, and listening to the debates of Congress, to see if he could any where observe his physiognomy, or distinguish his brogue. He could not think of subjecting himself to such uncertainty in the atten-

dance of any servant, with such preposterous ideas, as being a legislator, philosopher, &c. Again he considered, that probably this last chastisement he had received, might have a good effect, in curing him of the freaks of his ambition; and a mind broken and reduced by disappointment, is in a mellow state, and more capable of receiving the seeds of good advice, than a mind full of vanity or pride, that has never yet received blows. Deliberating on these grounds, his humanity prevailed, and he determined to receive the ragamuffin into favour.

This being settled, and learning from the Irishman in what manner he had been inveigled, and drawn away by the manager to go upon the stage—and that it was only because Teague had made advances to a woman of meretricious reputation, that the manager had made such an attack upon his person, he wished to punish him, if it should be within the province of the law to do it. Accordingly, inquiring what principal lawyer there was in that city, was informed of a certain counsellor Grab. Taking Teague with him, he set out to consult this gentleman. Counsellor Grab was in his office, amongst large shelves of books, or shelves of large books; not as the Latins say, *co-operatus, aut abrutus sed comitatus libris;* that is, in the midst of his books. He had on a pair of spectacles, not so much on account of age, as to make the client believe that he laboured under a premature want of sight, from much reading; or, because a pair of lenses, magnifying the organs of vision, gives the appearance of a larger eye, which has a good effect on the person consulting, impressing the idea of a broader view of things that are before it.

The captain addressed himself to the counsellor, and gave him the outlines of the injury done to Teague; the counsellor, in the mean time, suspending his reading in a large book, which he had before him, printed in Saxon letter, and raising his head, until the glasses of his spectacles were

brought to bear upon the physiognomy of his client, who, having finished his account, referred him to Teague, the subject of the battery, for a more particular detail of the circumstances. Teague was glad of the opportunity of speaking before a learned lawyer, and was beginning to give a relation of the whole affair; but his master stopped him, bidding him wait until the lawyer should himself request him to begin. The lawyer was silent. After having reconnoitered with his glasses, one while the captain, another while Teague, he dropped his optics, and began to read again. The captain, thinking he had not been sufficiently understood, recommenced the narration, and gave an account of what he himself had suffered from the inveigling and detaining his servant, and the visible injury which the servant himself had sustained. The lawyer was still silent; and though he had eyed him while speaking, as a Tuscan astronomer would the moon, yet he applied himself again to reading the black letter that was before him.

The captain thought it strange treatment; and was for some time at a loss to know what to think of the matter. But recollecting, opportunely, that the circumstance of a fee had been omitted, he took out his purse, and threw down two dollars. The lawyer seemed a little moved, but cast his eye again upon the black letter. Finding the two dollars not sufficient, he threw down two more. The counsellor raised his head from the book, and you might discern some dilatation of the muscles of the face, as bespeaking an approaching opening of the voice; but still there was silence, and might have been to this hour, had not the client recollected, at this moment, what he had all along forgot, that half a joe was the fee of a lawyer. Doubling, therefore, the four dollars that were already down, the lawyer came to his voice, the organs of his speech were loosed; and, taking the glasses from his eyes, he gave his counsel, as follows:

Said he, "you have a double remedy in this case: against

the manager, who inveigled, and against the servant himself. Against the servant, on the act of assembly, if indented, at common law, on the contract to serve. For even a servant at will, and not engaged for any special time, is not at liberty to desert the service of his master, without reasonable notice first given. So that you may have your remedy against the servant, in the first instance, by bringing the matter before the court of quarter sessions; and having time put upon him, as the phrase is, for this dereliction of your service; or an action on the contract, express or implied, as the case may be, wherein he shall repair, in damages, the loss sustained."

The bog-trotter was alarmed at the idea of an action against him; and looking wistfully at his master, exclaimed, "Dear master, will you trow de law upon me, dat am as innocent as a child unborn; and would go to death and damnation for you. Dear master, I suffered enough by de cudgel of dat player, for all de running away I have done; and, God love your soul, keep de law in its own place, and not let it come acrass a poor sarvant, dat has nathing but as he works and trats about; but let dese great big books of his anour, de lawyer, spake to de manager for his decaving a poor sarvant, and putting it into his head to run away, and lave a good master; and his bating him wid a great cudgel into de bargain."

"I have no desire," said the captain, "to pursue Teague, as he has made acknowledgments for his faults; but would want the utmost rigour of the law to be put in force against the player."

"You have also in this case a double remedy," said the counsellor, "by prosecution on the part of the servant, and on your part. Nay, the servant himself has a double remedy; for he may prosecute by indictment, or bring his action of assault and battery, or both. I would recommend the action only, because, where no indictment is prosecuted, and the

civil action only brought, exemplary damages may be given, as well as reparatory. For in the civil action it will affect the minds of a jury, that the party has already suffered all that is in the nature of punishment by a criminal proceeding; and nothing remains with them but to give reparatory damages. On the part of the master, two kinds of action may be brought: either an action of trespass, *vi et armis*, laying a *perquod servitium amisit*, or simply an action on the case, for the consequential damage of inveigling the servant."

"As to the number of remedies," said the captain, "or the kind of them, I care very little how many there are, or what they are; I want only a good remedy; give me a good swinging one against the rascal, and I care very little what it is called."

"I shall then," said the counsellor, "advise simply an action on the case, and count generally on the inveigling and detaining, and rendering unfit for service while in his power. In this mode the whole circumstances of the injury may be brought together, and summed up into one point of view, and enhancing the quantum of damages, can expatiate on the value of your servant, and the special occasion you had for his service at this particular juncture; for I make no doubt he is a valuable servant, and that it has been an irreparable injury to you to have been defrauded of his service at this time."

"As to his value," said the captain, "there can be no doubt, not only as a servant, but in other respects. I have been offered, or at least I suppose I could have got, an hundred pounds for him, to be a member of Congress, or to preach, or to go to the philosophical society, or to be an Indian treaty man, but have refused every proposal made him or me for these purposes; and now to have him kidnapped, and taken off, without fee or reward, and employed as an actor; and beat and rendered useless, at least for some time, in the bargain, is too much for any man to put up with.

If there is law in the land, let it be put in force, and this man made an example."

The counsellor had no need of spectacles to give himself the appearance of a glaring and broad look on this occasion; for the words of the captain had made him stare sufficiently, without the aid of a magnifying medium to enlarge his optics. He began to take him for a madman; at least in some degree deranged in his brain, to talk of his servant being in request for a member of Congress, and the like.

"Yes," continued the captain, "he not only inveigled away a servant that was thought fit to be a member of Congress, and a preacher, and an Indian treaty maker, and a philosopher, and what not, but has kept me these three days trotting after him, and trying to find him at election places, and in Congress boarding-houses, and the hall where they have their debates, and churches, and pulpits, and chambers of philosophical societies, and professorships, and where not, to see if I could find him; while this manager had him, in the mean time, at rehearsals, teaching him the art of mimicry for the stage."

The counsellor, in the mean time, had reflected with himself, that, whether madman or no madman, the client had money, and could give a good fee, let his cause be what it would; and so composing the muscles of his face, seemed to agree with him; observing that doubtless the quality and capacity of the servant would be taken into view, in estimating the damages: That, if it appeared he was not only fit stuff for a servant, but to be advanced to such eminent offices as these, not only inveigling the embryo legislator, preacher, and philosopher, but the assaulting and beating him, and by that means disabling him from immediate service, must be viewed in the light of an atrocious injury, and insure a verdict accordingly.

"Very well," said the captain, "and I shall wish to have the matter determined as speedily as possible, as I may be

but a few days in town; and besides, as the marks are yet apparent on the face, and I suppose back, of the bog-trotter, it will appear to the judges and jury, without the trouble of witnesses, what damage he has sustained."

"The process of law," said the counsellor, "is tedious, but certain: you cannot expect a trial in this case until the third or fourth term—that is, nine months or a year."

"How so?" said the captain.—"Because," said the counsellor, "it is now two months or upwards, before the court to which the writ will be returnable. Even if a declaration is then filed, the defendant may imparl until the succeeding term, which is three months; when, if there is no demurrer, general or special, a rule to plead will be taken, which may not be put in until the succeeding term of three months again. At this term, if there is no replication, rejoinder, surrejoinder, rebutter, or surrebutter, to draw up and file, while the defendant may crave a term, issue will be joined, and at the next term trial. But even after a verdict, there may be the delay of a term, on a motion for a new trial depending: so that in the law there is delay, but this delay is the price of justice."

"It is a price," said the captain, "that I will not give for it. If you will bring it about in a short time to have this fellow flogged, even with half the stripes he has given my servant, I shall not think the half-joe thrown away; but to be a year or half a year about the business, is putting the matter so far off, that it may as well be omitted altogether. If you could only get him sentenced to take a kick or two from my foot or Teague's, before we leave the city, I should be satisfied."

"The *lex talionis*," said the counsellor, "makes no part of our law. You can punish only in estate, not in person, for a simple assault and battery, such as this is."

"Do you not hang a man for murder," said the other; "and why not punish personally for an assault and battery?"

"Because it is our law," said the counsellor; "and in a civil action the object is damages."

"A civil action and damages, are strange phrases," exclaimed the client; "how can civility and damages be reconciled?"

"These are technical terms," said the counsellor, "which persons not of the profession are at a loss to understand; but have in themselves a distinct and sensible meaning."

"Let the terms mean what they will," said the captain, "it all comes to this at last: there is no getting at the manager under a year, or two years race for it; before which time Teague will have forgot the abuse he has received, and I my trouble in running after a strayed Irishman through this city; and therefore it may be as well to give the matter up, and sit down with the loss."

"That as you please," said the counsellor: and putting on his spectacles, cast his eyes again upon the black letter.

The captain beckoned to Teague to follow him, and withdrew from the chamber.

Having retired, "Teague," said the captain, "this thing of law has been well said to be a bottomless pit. The way to it is like that to the shades:

——Facilis decensus Averni;
Sed revocare gradum, hic labor, hoc opus est.

"This pettifogger seemed to have a thousand remedies at his command, and yet none that would serve us; as the redress, if any, is to be postponed to such a distant day. I have heard a great deal of these cattle, and I believe they are best off that have the least to do with them. They have so much jargon of technical terms, that the devil himself cannot understand them. Their whole object is to get money; and, provided they can pick the pocket of a half-joe, they care little about the person that consults them. The first loss is the best: you had better put up with the currying you have got, than have my pocket picked, on pretence of

redress a year or two hence, which may perhaps prove a century."

Teague was content to put up with the drubbing, and have no more said about it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Teague is seized with a desire to become a lawyer—The effectual method adopted by the captain to cure him of his folly.

Our chevalier had consoled himself with the idea, that Teague was now cured of his folly, and would no more be disposed to entertain notions of ambition, and unreasonable projects. He was disappointed in his hope; for that very evening, the Irishman, washing down his woes with some exhilarating drink, and though not intoxicated, but enlivened only, came to the captain.—Said he, "Dear master, what would your anour think, if a poor sarvant should turn lawyer; and get a half-joe when a customer comes to consult him in de morning? Would it not be better dan currying a harse, and tratting about like a big dog; with no sense to live like a man of fortune, have a big house over his head, and about him, and take half-joes from paple dat come to him about deir quarrels and batings, trough de town, and sending dem aff as wise as if dey had never come to him, and de great spectacles, to look like a blind man, dat was blind before he was born, and could see more dan two or tree oder paple for all dat; and was a conjurer and a wizzard, and could take money for noting: would it not be better, master, dan tratting like a fool, and disputing wid paple, and have noting to lay up; but be as poor as a church mouse, or a rat, all de days of our life, and paple laugh after us when we are gone?"

The captain was thrown into a reverie of thought, by the

speech of the bog-trotter; reflecting that his presumption and folly was incurable; for, notwithstanding all that had been said to him, or suffered by him, his natural propensity remained the same; according to the maxim—*Naturam expellas bifurca, usque recurret;* you may toss out nature with a pitchfork, she will still come back upon you. Not so much from any further view of reclaiming him, as from indignation and resentment against his presumption, he projected in his mind a farther means of chastising him. He had heard of a work-house in this city, into which petty criminals and refractory servants are committed, and put to hard labour: such as pounding hemp, grinding plaster of Paris, and picking old ropes into oakum. He resolved to have the ragamuffin put into this awhile. Counterfeiting therefore an approbation of his project of becoming lawyer, "doubtless," said he, "the profession of the law is a profitable business, where money is very easily got by the bare breath of the mouth. Nevertheless it requires time and study to qualify for this profession. Nay, the introduction to the study, by being put under an eminent lawyer in full practice, is itself very expensive. An hundred pistoles is sometimes the fee. This I could not very well afford; but I have an acquaintance in this town who, I am persuaded, would be willing to oblige me, and will take less. I will call upon him early to-morrow, and settle the contract."

Accordingly, the next day, calling on the keeper of the work-house, he gave him an account of his refractory servant, and with a gratuity of a couple of dollars, obtained his consent to take the bog-trotter under his direction, and give him a few lessons in picking oakum, and grinding plaster of Paris, and pounding hemp, not withholding, in the mean time, a seasonable application of the cowskin in the intervals of study of these several branches of the law. For the idea was to be imposed upon Teague that this was an office, or, as it were, an inn of court, or chamber of the Inner Temple;

and that the several flagellations, and grindings and poundings, were so many lessons and lectures to qualify him for the practice of the law.

It happened, fortunately, that the keeper of the work-house was well qualified for the task; for in early years he had been put an apprentice to an attorney, and had some opportunity of attending courts, and hearing the names of books to which the advocates referred in their pleadings; but having a turn for extravagance, and a dissolute manner of life, he had come to poverty, and through various scenes to jail. There, by address, he had gained the good will of the jailer's daughter, whom he married; and, by the interest of his new father-in-law, having obtained his liberation, he was, from acting as deputy-jailer, in a series of time, at length promoted to be the keeper of this work-house. Indeed, from his employment, being acquainted with the prisoners, and finding himself sometimes interested in their fate, and being led to attend their trials, he had, even in his last capacity, been a good deal about courts, and heard law phrases and books mentioned.

When Teague was introduced, which was that very afternoon, he had at his command the names of the abridgers, and reporters, and commentators, of the law, and the technical terms in the commencement and process of a suit; so that, when the key was turned, and, after having stripped him of the linen doublet that was upon him, he began to give him the first application of the cowskin, he told him this was reading Wood's Institutes; and when, after this, he was sentenced to an hour or two's hard labour, at grinding plaster of Paris, this was called Coke upon Littleton: and when the employment was varied, pounding hemp, or picking oakum, it was called Hawkin's Pleas of the Crown, or Foster, or fourth Blackstone, &c.—When the poor bog-trotter, reduced to a skeleton, living on bread and water, complained of the hard usage, and offered himself a servant

for life, to curry horses and brush boots to any Christian creature that would take him out of that place, he was told that, as he had begun the study of the law, he must go through with it; that this was but the commencement of the suit; that in a year's time he would learn to file a declaration; in another, to put in a plea; in a third, to join issue; and in a fourth, to conduct a trial; that unless a bill of exceptions had been filed, or there was a motion in arrest of judgment, or writ of error brought, he might be admitted the fifth, and begin to practice the sixth year: at all events, provided he would submit himself with due application to fasting and cowskinning, and grinding plaster of Paris, pounding hemp, and picking oakum, he might be a lawyer the seventh year, and wear spectacles like counsellor Grab, and take a half joe when he thought proper.

I know not by what simile to represent the howl of the unhappy law student at this prospect of the duration of his woes. It was like that of a wolf at the bottom of a well, or a dog that has lost his master, or a cow her comrade, or some forlorn wanderer that has missed the way and given up all hopes of being extricated from the wilderness. At the various applications of the cowskin, he had jumped, and cursed, and swore, and prayed, and beseeched, and promised a thousand services, of currying horses and brushing boots, and trotting wherever he was ordered, provided they would set him at liberty. When employed at the hard labour, before mentioned, he had groaned, and cursed the law, the counsellor, and the half joe. "Ah," thought he, "if my dear master, the captain, knew how hard a ting it was to study law, and to fast widout ating or drinking, and be bate wid a cowskin, he would not have given de hundred pistols, nor de half of it, to have had me kicked and cuffed in dis manner. I would give my body and soul into de bargain, if I could see him once more at dat iron gate dere, to spake to him, and basache him to take me out of dis purgatory. He

was a good master; and when I was a fool, and wanted to be a member of Congress, and prache, and be a philasophur, he told me, 'Teague, you are a fool;' and what dey would do wid me dere; how dey would bate me, ate me, and take de skin aff my back, and make a cow or a shape o' me; and now I am worse dan a cow or a shape, or a harse; for I am cut and curried black and blue, till my flesh is raw, and a colic in my belly, wid fasting; and all to stoody law. De divil take counsellor Grab, and de half joe."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The captain visits the courts of justice.

Captain Farrago having been led to think so much of law, of late, resolved to pay a visit to the courts of justice, and hear some of those cases argued which come before them. Understanding that a court was then sitting, he took the opportunity of the interval of Teague's purgation in the work-house, to amuse himself with the pleading of the advocates. Repairing, therefore, to the court-house, he mingled with the crowd, and listened to what was going forward.

There was before the court a motion in arrest of judgment. A Jonathan Mug had been indicted, and found guilty of "feloniously taking and carrying away water out of the well of Andrew Mab." It was moved in arrest of judgment, that larceny could not be committed of water in a well, it being real property: for it was a distinction of the common law, that larceny could not be committed of things real, or savouring of the realty. Black. 232. 2 Ray. 470. Hawkins, &c. So that taking away the soil was merely a *trespass*; and taking away water could be no more.

It was answered that water being *fluitans et mobilis*, could not be considered as real property; that an ejectment would

not lie for water, but for so many acres of land covered with water, Yelv. 143. 1 Burr. 142. Because it was impossible to give execution of a thing which is always transient and running. Run. 36, quotes Cro. Jac. 150. Lev. 114. Sid. 151. Thence it is, that in a grant of the soil, it is necessary, as we see from old forms, to add the right of ways, woods, and water-courses, Lilly. Con. 132, and 179. Bridg. Con. 321. That whatever might be said of water in its natural bed on the soil, as water in a running stream; yet a well, being dug by the labour of hands, the water thus acquired must be counted as personal, not real property. That, at a well, the water being drawn up by the bucket, and thus by one act separated from the freehold, and by another taken from the bucket, it becomes a subject of larceny; as in the law of corn, trees, or grass growing. For if these be severed at one time, and at another time taken away, it is larceny. Hawk. Pl. Cr. 93.

It was replied, that an ejectment would lie of water in a well; for here the water is fixed in a certain place, within the bounds and compass of the well; and is considered as part of the soil. Run. 37. That *ex vi termini*, in the indictment, "out of the well," it must be considered as water *ex*, out of, or from the well; that is, water severed by the very act of taking; for otherwise it would have been expressed, by "water out of the bucket" of Andrew Mab; not out of the well; and so the taking could not be larceny, but trespass; as in the case of a tree that is cut down at one time, and taken away at another; or apples growing on a tree, or shaken down and gathered from the soil; the first being a trespass, the second larceny. *Curia advisare vult.*

The captain whispering to lawyer Grab, inquired what difference it made in the punishment, whether it was larceny or trespass? He was answered that in the one case it was hanging by the common law; and in the other to pay the value of the property.—"A very material difference, indeed," said the captain, "to depend on so nice a distinction."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The captain meets with a wag who persuades him to indulge Teague in his ambition for public office or employment.

The captain had now leisure to reflect on the predicament in which he left Teague; and thinking he might have had what was sufficient to cure him of his folly, or at least restrain it, thought of making a visit to the house of employment, or sending to liberate the valet.

This thought running in his head, he naturally suggested it to a gentleman with whom he was, at this time, in conversation, on different subjects; the gentleman lodging at the same inn, or public house, and seeming to be a person of considerable shrewdness and discernment, not only of the affairs of men in general, but of the special spirit and character of these times, who was also something of a wag, observed to Captain Farrago: "The folly of your man has certainly been very great, to suppose that he could be qualified to sustain the profession of an advocate, and to practise law. For, though in this, as in most other professions, 'the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;' *but the people that showeth favour;* that is, take up an opinion of abilities, where there are none; yet your servant, having so little of the semblance of qualification, it would be counting too much on the circumstance, to promise great success in his case. His prospect of advancement would be much more certain in the political career. You seem, by your account, to have discouraged him in taking a seat in the legislature; and would not wish now to contradict yourself: yet why not indulge him in taking a place in the executive of some government? As far as I see, with that ambition which is natural to him, you will find him of but little use, as a waiter: and you may as well let him do

something for himself, as not. If appointed in the department of finance, he can use clerks; and, in a very short time, he may learn to write his name, so as to give his signature to any paper; and this, with the help of clerks to do the accountant business, would be sufficient: at least there have been those in these departments, who have been approved, and yet could do little more. Should he even become a governor; furnished with a secretary, he can be at no loss to compose his messages, or other communications, to individuals, or public bodies.

"But what I would propose, and will suit him best, will be to go into the general government: and, under this, the diplomatic line will be eligible. He might be appointed consul to the port of Cork or Dublin; or the Barbary states; or other places; or he might go as ambassador to the Grand Mogul; or envoy extraordinary to the Emperor of Russia; or to some of the European potentates.

"If you should think of favouring him in this career, it will be necessary for him to appear at the levee of the president, that he may be introduced with a certain gradual etiquette of advancement."

"What!" said the captain, "introduce a ragged bog-trotter to the president of the United States!"

"Not ragged—you can have a pair of breeches made for him; and put shoes upon his feet, instead of brogues, and some other articles of equipment. And when you bring this into view with his making his fortune, you will not consider it as advancing much for a person whom you wish to serve."

The captain began to think there was weight in the observations of this gentleman; and that it might be proper to let the bog-trotter have a chance of doing what he could: he, therefore, wrote a note to the keeper of the house of employment to liberate him for the present.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Wherein the author addresses himself directly to the reader, and relates of Walpole—He advises certain persons to purchase this book.

It is well for men in office that my pen has taken this turn; and that I employ myself in writing harmless nonsense, rather than strictures on their conduct. In the case of the famous Gordon, who, with Trenchard, was an author of what were styled Cato's Letters, it is well known that the shrewd minister of that day, Walpole, dreading the effects of these writings, laid a plan to free his administration from them, by affecting to admire the style; and saying, that it were a pity so noble a genius were not employed in giving a sample of good language, where there would be no occasion to invent, but merely to clothe ideas. For this reason he would consider it a great happiness, could he be induced to translate some work of merit; and give it in the beautiful garb of his expression. By this address and the addition of a pension, the author was induced to undertake the translation of Tacitus.

Now, what government, with great art, got Gordon to do, I have done of my own accord; that is, to amuse myself in abstract composition; regarding words only, and letting men of place alone. Nevertheless, as the sale of these is not certain; and if I should find it an expense, rather than a profit, to proceed in the work, I may quit it, and fall foul of the public measures, those who discharge the public trust, at the present time, may not be altogether safe. It were, therefore, wise policy in such, to assist the sale as much as possible; and it might not be amiss, in the first instance, to buy up, each of them, a number of copies. I do

not know that I have any thing to say of the president* of the United States; or that I would say it, if I had; nevertheless, it might not be amiss for him, on the principle of preservation, and, agreeably to that universal prudence he has ever shown, to take a few; perhaps fifty might suffice. The secretary of the treasury,† and the secretary at war, might take between them about five hundred. As to the secretary of state,‡ he is such a skin-dried philosopher, that an author would make as little out of him, as a fly would out of a weather-beaten bone; and so, it is of little consequence to him, whether he buys one at all; for I believe I shall not trouble my head about him. As to the Congress that have set since the adoption of the federal constitution, they need not put themselves to the expense, individually or collectively, of purchasing one pamphlet as I am determined not to be bought off by them; but in a work which I shall by and by publish, will canvass freely the respective demerits of their votes. I have not yet written any part of this work; but I have it all in my mind; and if I had a ready amanuensis to take it down, could give a volume in a short time.

The whole gradation of officers and place-men, under government, are a good deal in my power. Not that I would descend to attack *them;* but I might affect the system by which they are supported. A pretty liberal purchase, therefore, on their part, might be money not ill laid out.

The men that are upon the government of Pennsylvania, would find their account, in making it worth my while to let my fingers run in this way, awhile longer. *Peream ne scribam;* I must write; and if I should break out upon them, I know not where I might end.

The truth is, that it is not so much on account of the matter that I set any value upon this performance, as the

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* Washington. † Hamilton. ‡ Jefferson.

manner; for my vanity goes no further than to claim some merit on account of the style in which this book is written. I know that it will not all at once, and by all persons, be thought to be the model of a perfect style; for it is only the perfectly instructed, and delicately discerning that can discover its beauties: and perhaps none will be more apt to pass them by, than the learned of the academies, versed in grammar rules of writing; for there is a greenness in the judgment of the school critics with respect to what is simple and natural in composition.

To illustrate this by analogy. Let a dancing master pass his judgment on the best bred man in life; and not finding in his position and attitudes, an evident conformity to the lessons of the saltatory art, he will conclude that he has not been taught to move with propriety. He does not know that it is this very circumstance that constitutes the excellence of the movements of the easy and perfectly genteel man; to wit, that when you observe him, it will never once come into your mind that he thinks of his attitudes or positions in the least; but that every movement is just as it happens, and without any intention on his part. *Ars est celare artem.* It is the secret of good taste and perfection in behaviour to conceal that you ever think of it at all. So it is the most perfect proof of a good style, that when you read the composition, you think of nothing but the sense; and are never struck with the idea that it is otherwise expressed than every body would express it.

That style is not good, where it appears that you have not dared to use a word without thinking a long time whether you ought to use it; that, in the disposition of words, you have carefully studied which ought to go first and which last; and, that your sentence has a cadence which could not come by chance; but is the effect of design and art.

I acknowledge that no man will ever possess a good

style that has not well studied, and exercised himself in writing, selecting with a most perfect delicacy, in all cases, the proper term; but he must go beyond this, and be able to deceive the world, and never let it come into their heads that he has spent a thought on the subject. But it is not one in five hundred that is born with such sensibility of nerve as to be able to attain, even with the help of great instruction and practice, a perfect judgment in the use of words. It is for this reason that I am ambitious of the praise of writing well, so far as respects language. For it requires no uncommon structure of nerves, or organization of the brain to produce good sense; the mass of mankind is equal to this.

Language, as it is the peculiar gift, so it is the highest glory of our species; and the philologist is to be considered as cultivating the most useful and ornamental of all arts. Pursuing, therefore, solely the use of words, I do not descend professedly to think of sense; nevertheless, if at any time there should be found ideas that have some consistency and meaning, they may deserve attention, as much as if it was the primary object of my work to express them; for it is not their fault if I set little store by them, and think more of the dress that I put upon them than I do of themselves.

I am happy to find that in the review of this publication, by the critics, my ideas of the merit of the style are recognized, and fully justified;* and as my work may be well supposed to have a much more extensive circulation, and to live longer than miscellaneous performances, I have thought it not amiss, for the honour of the critics, to extract some part of the observations which have been made by them, and which are as follows:

* This is of course ironical.—The work was never noticed by any review; the quotation is therefore a mere piece of pleasantry.

"The author of the work before us, is well known in the literary world for his treatise on the Economy of Rats, a satirical composition, in which, under the veil of allegory, he designates the measures of the federal government; as also for his History of Weasels, in which the same strokes are given to those at the helm of our affairs, in a different fable and narration. In the present work, which he entitles Modern Chivalry, he disowns the idea of any moral or sentiment whatsoever, and proposes style only, as the object of the composition. And to this object, in our opinion, he scrupulously adheres; for though on some occasions, there would seem to be a semblance of idea, yet this we must attribute to the imagination of the reader, just as in looking upon a plastered wall, attentively for a long time, you will conceive the inequality of the surface, or accidental scratchings, to be the shape of birds and beasts, or the letters of the alphabet. Yet as reason in this case will correct the fancy, and bring to mind that there is really no character or image there, there being none intended; so, on a perusal of the work in question, looking a long time for sense, you may at last conceive that you observe some glimmerings of it; yet, when you recollect that you have it from the author himself that he means none, you will be sensible that it is nothing more than the accidental combination of words which has given this picture to the mind.

"Style, then, which is his object, must also be ours, in our view of the publication. For, to give a simile; if a manufacturer of cloth, or a tailor that forms it into vestments, should come forward, and produce each his work, to be considered merely as to the manufacture, or making up, without regard to the materials of the woof and warp in the one case, or the wearing in the other, it would be absurd to inquire of these, when nothing was proposed to you respecting them, by the artists themselves.

"Confining ourselves therefore to the style of this

performance, we observe that it has what is the first characteristic of excellence, viz. Simplicity. This consists in the choice of the plainest and most familiar words, and in the arrangement of the words in their natural order. There is a great difference between a vulgar term, or phrase, and that which is common, and comes first upon the tongue, in easy and familiar conversation. It is the mistake of this distinction which leads some writers to avoid the phrase that any one would use, and seek out what is uncommon. Hence there appears a variation in the words they put upon paper, from those which they themselves would use in conversation. And why this? Ought not language to be precisely the same whether spoken or written?

"Perspicuity is the natural result of simplicity, and needs not be laid down as a different characteristic. For can there be obscurity in that composition where the most familiar word is used, and that word put in its proper place? This brings to mind the definition of style by Swift: "proper words in proper places."

"There can be nothing more easy than the composition of our author. His writing savours of the skill of an artificer, who, after many years exercitation in his art, acquires a power of accomplishing his work by a habit of the fingers, independent of any application of the mind. So that while in the style of others there is an appearance of exertion, here there is what a superficial observer would call carelessness, but which the sound critic will discover to be the result of a perfect mastery of all that relates to language.

"It is pretty generally believed that our style has been constantly degenerating from the time of Queen Anne, in whose reign flourished those immortal penmen, Swift, Addison, Arbuthnot, Tillotson, Bolingbroke, &c. If the style of this author is examined, and compared with those models, it will be found to be in the same pure, simple, attic taste. We shall, therefore, not hesitate to recom-

mend it as a restorer of all that is correct and beautiful in writing."

But enough on this head. Let us now return to our history, and relate what may further concern the reader to know respecting Captain Farrago and his man Teague.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The captain resolves to forward the ambition of Teague, and introduces him to the levee of the President.

We have related in a former chapter, that Captain Farrago, wearied with the preposterous ambition of the bog-trotter, had, by the advice of a gentleman, consented to let him try his luck of getting into some employment under government.

However, after reflecting with himself a long time on the subject, he could not help expressing to the gentleman his doubt of the success of such pretensions. Said he, "after all, I do not see how it can be reasonable to suppose that he can come to any great height in state affairs: he is totally illiterate and uncultivated."

"As to that," said the gentleman, "it is no reason at all. Do we not read in history of persons of the lowest education, who have risen to the greatest heights, both in the civil and military line? Butchers' sons, keepers of pigs, feeders of sheep, traffickers in small wares, have come to be cardinals, popes, and ministers of state. That impulse of mind which prompts him to be something, indicates a capacity to be something. We seldom find in men a strong desire of obtaining any thing which depends on human

power, who have not been able to obtain it. Hence it has been said, that let a man determine to be lord mayor of London, and he may arrive at that dignity."

The captain, yielding to these reasons, began to think in what manner it might be proper to give him an introduction, and bring him forward; whether to endeavour to cultivate an acquaintance with some members of Congress, or the heads of departments, such as the Secretary of the Treasury, of State, at War, &c., or to begin with some of the subordinate clerks, and rise gradually to the knowledge of the principals.

"This," said the gentleman, "would be beginning at the wrong end. These people must naturally be jealous, especially of such as appear to have talents; not knowing but that in time they may come to supersede them. The most advisable way is to attack the head at once: present him at the levee of the President, and make him known to the Chief Magistrate. This is going to the fountain, and not depending on the streams, that divide among themselves; and sometimes sink in the earth and disappear. Having been once seen at court, he will acquire friends, and the President himself can with more propriety take notice of him."

"But would it not be necessary," said the captain, "before we undertake to present him at the levee of the President, that I should have him rubbed down, and clothed a little better than he is at present?"

"Not at all. It will be best to present him, just as he is, in his brogues and wambus. The President seeing him, as it were, *puris naturalibus*, will anticipate what he may be, when he comes to be dressed off in a suitable manner; and imagination always out-goes the reality. Besides, unless he had been accustomed for some time to good clothing, he will appear awkward in it, and move with pain to himself

and to others. Take a country girl that is neat enough in her short-gown and petticoat, and put her in a fine silk with stays, and she will appear to much less advantage. A clown in his jacket and trowsers is respectable, but in a broad-cloth coat, with suitable habiliments, would move ridicule."

Governed by these observations, the captain proposed to take Teague to the levee the next evening.

The gentleman who thus advised the captain, as we have seen, was a wag, who wished to amuse himself with the extravagance of introducing Teague as a candidate for public offices, and taking him to the levee. For the Irishman was certainly in no very decent apparel to appear at the court even of a republic. The jacket and trowsers, or overalls as some call them, that he had upon him, though of rough materials, the latter of a coarse tow-linen, that had not had but one boiling before it was made up, were not even whole —what is more, not clean; not that he had voluntarily on some great occasion, for a public or private calamity, as was the manner of the Jews, rent his garments and put on sackcloth, and strewed ashes on his head; but what came to the same thing, by lying by the fireside at night, and wrestling in the day with the hostler and servants at the tavern, he was reduced to the same raggedness and ash-powdered state.

Nevertheless, though there might not have been time to have washed his duds; yet a patch or two might have been put upon his vestments; a considerable impression having been made upon his flank by a sharp point; and his rear being uncovered a handbreadth or more, unless indeed his breeches had been taken off altogether, and he had come forward a real *sans culotte*, without any thing to cover his nakedness.

After waiting for the evening of the levee, the captain set

TEAGUE AT THE PRESIDENT'S LEVEE.

out with the candidate. Arriving at the door, the name of Captain Farrago was announced: Teague following just behind, the former thus addressed the President: "May it please your Excellency, here is a young man, whom I take the liberty to introduce as a candidate for state employment. He has been offered a seat in Congress. But it appears to me that a place in the executive department would suit him better. His name is Teague O'Regan; and has been for some time a servant of mine; but I believe I could now spare him, if your Excellency has occasion to make use of him."

The attorney-general, and several others, were confounded at the proposition. A little lean Frenchman in the room, with a sword by his side, was astonished; and expressed above an hundred foutres to himself in the compass of a minute; I do not mean that he spoke out, but thought them to himself in a short space. A British consul present, who was a man of a philosophic turn of mind, could not but reflect on the nature of a republican government, and the extraordinary assurance of the lowest classes to pretend to offices, and that too, countenanced by men so superior to them, as the captain appeared to be. What seemed more strange, was that this tatterdemalion was an ignorant foreigner, much inferior in intelligence to labourers of the native class. Perhaps something might be set down to the habit, not yet eradicated, of ascribing superiority to things of foreign growth, and imported from abroad.

The President, in the mean time, contemplating the object, made a pause. But after some time, recollecting himself, bowed to the captain, and to Teague, and signified that doubtless proper notice should be taken of the merits of the gentleman, and provision made for him. This he said, bowing at the same time in a circular manner, and turning round as if to converse with another person, to whom at-

tention was in his turn due. Teague in the mean time advancing with his mouth open, and both his arms stretched out, was about to harangue in his own dialect, "as plase your anour," &c, but an aid-de-camp of the President, or some one concerned in the ceremonial of the occasion, touching the captain and Teague, and conversing with them towards the door, gave them to understand that they might depart for the present: and that there was no manner of question but that his Excellency had taken notice of the matter, and when any appointment was about to take place, the gentleman would be remembered.

END OF VOL. I.

The examination of Teague by the two Members of the Philosophical Society.

MODERN CHIVALRY:

OR THE

ADVENTURES OF CAPT. FARRAGO AND TEAGUE O'REGAN.

"God love your sowl! stop wid your cowskin, till I say me prayers; and spare me life. O! I shall be kilt and murthered, O! dis night in de house here."

PHILADELPHIA: CAREY & HART.

MODERN CHIVALRY,

OR THE

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN FARRAGO

AND

TEAGUE O'REGAN.

BY

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE.

Quidquid agunt homines——
Farrago. Juv.

Ridentum dicere verum quid vetat?—Horace.

"Man's averse to all the truth he hears."—Creech.

SECOND EDITION SINCE THE AUTHOR'S DEATH.

WITH

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE, A CRITICAL DISQUISITION ON THE WORK, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS BY DARLEY.

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MODERN CHIVALRY.

CHAPTER I.

In which the author treats profoundly of levees, of state ceremonies and forms, and also of titles and destruction of rank in the state.

I OBSERVE, from some scraps in the public papers, that the holding a levee by the president of the United States, has given offence to men of severe and extreme republican ideas: for, as at the reformation from the Roman Catholic worship, the Puritans, and other thorough-paced reformists, were offended with the church of England, for retaining some particulars of the ancient ceremonies—such as the ring in marriage; the cross in baptism; the surplice; kneeling at the sacrament; bowing at the name of Jesus, &c., so here—the more rigid revolutionists from monarchy object to any vestige of its customs, and would lay aside totally all resemblance of it.

On the other hand, it is suggested by those who would justify or apologize for the holding a levee, that it is in itself no substance or essential of monarchy; it is, at the most, but a shadow of it, and can do little harm; that the institution was suggested by John Adams, who, having just returned from his embassy in England, had no doubt good reason to suppose that it would be pleasing to the English people, who were accustomed to such things; and to the king especially, who, as far as we understand from Peter Pindar, is but a thick-headed prince: it would be

pleasing for him to reflect, that though he had lost direct authority and jurisdiction in these states, yet we were still disposed to touch, as it were, the hem of his garment, and adopt some of the trappings of royalty. In this case he could with more propriety take notice of his brother George having a levee like another prince, than if he remained but a bare republican, like a plucked fowl, without any plumage to decorate his dignity. It is also said, that it was on this principle that Citizen Adams proposed introducing titles of nobility, such as Duke and Duchess, Marquis and Marchioness, Count and Countess, Baronet and Baroness, &c. For, that complying in these small matters with the style of the English ranks, and the genius of their government, it would produce and preserve a greater amity between the nations, and with the court especially; and enable us to obtain greater advantages in our treaties of commerce. Whatever may have been the principle, I do not think the proposition bad. It could not be blamable: for Saint Paul himself, in matters of religion, a thing much more delicate in its nature, did not hesitate to shave the heads of four young men to please the Jews; and what was worse, circumcised the poor boy Timothy. What then, if to humour a weak king and a prejudiced people, we had received the appellations of nobility? Besides, the matter might have been so managed, as not to injure the stamina of our constitution; that is, not to confer the titles; but let the people take them. Carlisle, for instance, the constable in Philadelphia, might have called himself Lord Carlisle, and so on.

The advocates for a levee say, that it is useful in order to avoid the interruptions of persons calling on the president at his private hours, who have no other business than merely to be introduced and to see him; that setting a couple of hours aside, one day in the week, for the purpose of satisfying the curiosity of the people is good economy; and is like throwing a barrel to a whale, in order to preserve

the ship. For that, if this was not indulged, little else could be done through the week, than attending to the formality of receiving visitants. To this it is answered, that it must be impertinent in any one to call upon the president who has no business with him; and if he has business, a levee is not the place to settle it; that the Roman Pretors, and Grecian Archons, made out to discharge their offices, without this expedient; that it is not consistent with the honour of wise and modest republicans, to have it supposed, that from idle and light-headed curiosity, they would be troublesome to their chief magistrate; if any were so, calling once, they could be dismissed in such a manner as to cure them of it; and the thing being once known to be improper, the idea would pervade the mass of the citizens, and the most uninstructed would be taught not to trangress by so obvious an intrusion.

Besides, the curiosity of seeing a man eminent in office, exists chiefly with weak minds; for the more solid know, that it is not the figure of a great man that has made him such, but a series of prudent and successful conduct. They are sensible that when they see the most distinguished in arts, in letters, or in arms, they will see a person that looks just like another man. Is it worth while then, say the anti-levites, to consult the curiosity of gaping haubucks, by obliging the chief magistrate of a government to show himself to them once a week, when he has so much real business on hand?

For my part, lying at the back of a mountain here,* the cool west wind blowing on me, I find myself little heated with the difference of opinions on this question. All I shall say is, that the ceremony of a levee would not be agreeable to my mind; and if I should be chosen president at any time, with which my friends flatter me, I believe I shall not

* The author resided in Pittsburgh, then a small town.

continue it, unless, indeed, I should be allowed to discharge it by proxy. For I could not myself submit to stand two hours, once a week, in a circle, like a bear at a stake, to be saluted by all comers and goers, and be obliged to say some words, of course, to get clear of them. It is possible, this declaration may affect my election; but such is my habit of candour, that, being on the subject, I could not help making it. And I flatter myself the most strenuous Levites may be reconciled to it, when I propose in its place to have myself taken off the more abundantly in portraits, and to have innumerable medals struck, representing my physiognomy and features; and to assist this, I shall not be backward to have descriptions given of my person, manners, and apparel, to satisfy the curiosity of strangers. This I hope will suffice.

CHAPTER II.

The captain undertakes the arduous task of making a gentleman of Teague—Places him in the hands of a dancing master, after scouring the inner man—Impossibility of teaching him to know the right foot from the left.

From the reception at the levee, which the captain thought favourable, he began to entertain more confidence in the advancement of Teague; and, under this impression, thought it now advisable to begin to take some pains with his bodily appearance, and by the next interview produce him to the best advantage.

To conduct this by system, the first thing was to heave him down, as it were, and scrape his sides, &c. This was done by ordering into an apartment of the kitchen, a tub of warm water. His overalls being stript off, and putting his feet and legs in this, with hickory ashes and a pint of soft soap,

the hostler was occupied an hour or two, in the necessary lotion and friction, until the upper skin began to come off, and the natural complexion of his flesh to appear. After this, being stript altogether, his whole body underwent the same operation: he was put through a second water, the captain standing by, and ordering his joints to be stretched, in the manner of the Turks in their baths. A clean shirt was put on him, and he was then rigged with a second-hand pair of pantaloons, a half worn coat of the captain's; a vest, and other articles of attire, were also supplied, instead of his overalls and *wambus*,* or round about.

The next thing to be done towards forming the bog-trotter, to some degree of decency, was the teaching him some more easy movements of his person, so as not to lift his feet so high, or make such long strides: as not being necessary, where there were now no sloughs or ditches to leap over; but carpets, or plain floors to step upon. This, with the instructing him in what manner to turn his toes out, or at least to keep his feet parallel in walking; and turning round, to throw one heel into the hollow of the other foot; at the same time, in what manner to bear his arms and head; and to preserve or incline his body in receiving or returning a salutation—considering by what means this was best attainable, the captain thought to himself it might be advisable, in the first instance, to employ a dancing master. For though the lessons of such a teacher, might not give ease of behaviour, all at once, yet these might lay the foundation of it. For no man ever came from the hands of a dancing master with a natural ease and flexibility of joint and limb; yet being taught to move by rule at first, in the course of mixing with good company, the wire edge of art would wear off, and an ease of demeanour be attained. For this

* This is the name given to a short flannel wrapper in use among the western people. Derived, perhaps, from the Saxon word *wamba*, a serf.

reason he thought proper, the next morning, to send for Monsieur Douperie, and to address him as follows:

"Monsieur Douperie," said he, "here is a young man of some talents, as the world supposes, though I never could find them in him; who is in a fair way to be introduced into the political, and, probably, the gay world: and as he is but rustic and awkward in his movements, I would wish to have him polished; not that I expect he can attain to great perfection in the highest species of the dance; such as the minuet, or the cotillion, the waltz, or even the manœuvres of a contre dance; but simply in the position of his feet, and to step and move with propriety. For I do not think it necessary for a statesman, that he be a proficient in the saltatory art; but simply, that he be able to bear himself upright, and to enter a room in an easy manner, and not take too long strides in walking across the floor."

The Frenchman, eyeing Teague, thought with himself that he was but a rough subject to work upon; nevertheless, concealing his sentiments, as the manner of the nation is polite and compliant, he replied: "Monsieur Capitaine," said he, "ver great sensible of de honneur, que vous me faites, de attitude of yourself be so ver elegant, dat prove de high degree que vous avez acquis in de art dat I teshe; and trow un grand lustre, on de talents dat I possede."

Such was the compliment to the captain himself; though, by the by, he was but a plain man, and had never been taught to dance.

Monsieur Douperie, continuing, turned his attention now to the bog-trotter. "Dis Monsieur," said he, "appear de best calcule of de vorld for de dance. Sa taille, ver good, his limb promettent, ver much en faveur of his talents futures. His muscle, et son apparance nerveus, confirm me of his strense in de execution. His eye, be ver good, pour fixer son visavis, his partner. Tout me promet une grande esperance make Mousieur most egal myself in de art of de danse."

TEAGUE AND THE FRENCH DANCING MASTER.

"As to that," said the captain, "I would not have you too sanguine. You do not take into view the low state in which he is; and what pains will be necessary before you can bring him to that point where you begin with others. So low is my opinion of his present grade, in point of manners, that I had thought of putting him a while under the care of a person skilled in breaking oxen, that he might be taught to move by rule in some rough way at the first, before I would trouble you with giving him the nicer precepts that respect the locomotive art."

"Tres plaisant, Capitaine, ver plaisant," said the dancing master; "mais, je me promet dat Monsieur make ver good proficiance, in ver short time."

The captain now thinking proper to withdraw, left Teague to his lessons.

"Monsieur Patrick," said Monsieur Douperie, for understanding that he was an Irishman, and thinking that all Irishmen were named Patrick, he gave him this appellation: "Monsieur Patrick," said he, "il faut commencer, par les principes; must begin by de principle.

"Le premier principe, de first lessong est de placer les pieds; place de foot. Voyez; dis foot, cy; comme cela, (showing him how to place his foot,) and ce luy, dat foot, la; comme dis foot. (Showing him by his own how to place it.) Tournez les pieds; open de foot, quoi! vous ouvrez la bouche; you open de mout and not de foot. Vous keep vos foot in de sáme position, et vous baillez: you open de mout. La second principe, is to keep de body droit—trait. Must sit firm sur ses membres, on de limb. Tenez votre body as dis, (showing him in what manner to keep his body,) assieyez vous, sur vos membres, comme ce la; dis way Monsieur Patrick. Fermez la bouche, shut de mout."

I stop here to observe, that the opening the mouth when an exertion of the mind or body is required, is a habit very common with uninformed men, and not at all peculiar to

Teague. You will observe, that men who have not been long, or at least much in the habit of writing, when they put pen to paper, open the mouth and protrude the tongue, moving it as the pen turns to the right hand or to the left, or draws the stroke long or short; and, you will see a cordwainer of good skill in his trade, from mere habit, and not from any defect of art, put out his tongue, and move it as if it could guide his hand when he is paring nicely the margin of the sole of a shoe or boot: Having made this observation in justice to the bog-trotter, I return to my narration.

The captain coming in at this point of the business, made inquiry of Monsieur Douperie, what success he had with his pupil. "Bien tolerable, Monsieur Capitaine," said Monsieur Douperie, "ver tolerable: Monsieur est d'une tres bonne naturel; ver good disposition. Dans le commencement il ne faut pas nous flatter, must not flatter wiz de plus haut degre, de success; at de first of de lessong."

The captain, not so much from the words of the dancing master as from his countenance and the tone of his voice, saw that he was not so sanguine with regard to the proficiency of the bog-trotter as he had been at first: Nevertheless, he was not discouraged in suffering Monsieur Douperie to go on with lessons; because he expected little more, as has been said, than some improvement of step and gait. Nor did he draw any conclusion unfavourable with respect to the attainments of the bog-trotter in a political career; because he well knew that awkwardness of manner is not at all inconsistent with the highest literary and political abilities; and that some of the greatest geniuses that the world has produced have never been able to attain the graces of behaviour. The poet Horace says of Virgil—*magnum ingenium sub inculto corpore latet:* and the anecdote of Harley, Earl of Oxford, is well known; who, when Queen Anne made him lord treasurer, his dancing master expressed his astonishment, and wondered what the queen

could see in him, for he was the greatest dunce he ever had at his school.

With these reflections, withdrawing, he left the Frenchman to go on with his lesson.

"Le troisieme principe; de tird lessong," said Monsieur Douperie, "is to lift de foot; you lift de foot, Monsieur Patrick, le pied droit, de right foot"—here Teague raised de left. "O! mon dieu," said the dancing master, "le pied droit, et non pas le gauche; de right foot and not de left. Est il possible, you no disting de right foot from the left? Il faut lever le gauche: a la bonne heure, you lift de left foot.

"Now, Monsieur Patrick, un pas avec le pied gauche: lift de left foot." Here Teague lifted the right foot, thinking of the former lesson, and willing to please the dancing master by giving him that foot which seemed to be so much in request by him. "O! mon dieu, par bleu," said Monsieur Douperie, "est il possible you do no disting de right foot from de left?"

It is observable of the French character that while they preserve their temper, they are all complaisance, and have the softest words imaginable; but when they break, it is all at once, and they pass to the opposite extreme of peevishness. It is not altogether owing to an irritability of nerve, but to that system of politeness which they cultivate; because when the chord of civility is immoderately stretched by a concealment of the feelings, when it is let go, it flies the farther, and with the quicker vibration, beyond the medium of its tension.

"O! mon dieu, par bleu," said the Frenchman; and here he had almost said foutre, which is one of the worst epithets that is given, when great contempt is about to be expressed.

However, composing his temper and resuming his instructions, he continued—"Now, Monsieur Patrick," said he, "le pied droit, lift de right foot." Here Teague, as he

had not pleased his instructer by what he had done last, viz. lifting the right foot, now lifted the left, being always at cross purposes as it were, or still too far forward or too far back in his motions, to correspond with the directions given.

"Diable, diable," cried the Frenchman, raising his voice and almost vociferating, "quoi ferai je donc? il est impossible d' instruire ce garçon: no possible make you understand vat I say, you will do. Attendez, Monsieur Patrick; you look at me, and lift de foot dat I lift; now I lift de right foot; lift de right foot."

Teague standing opposite to the master, and lifting that foot which was on the same side with that of the instructer, made the same blunder as before, and lifted the left foot.

Monsieur Douperie enraged beyond all bearing, ran out of the room, and left his scholar for the present.

The day after this, Monsieur Douperie, having composed his temper, and attending, the captain made inquiry, as usual, of the progress of his pupil. The Frenchman, endeavouring to put the best face on the matter, said some things of course, and complimentary; but could not help intimating that it was une grand difficulty en le commencement, in de beginning, to make Monsieur disting de difference of de right foot and de left.

"As to that," said the captain, "it is a national incapacity; for which, as also for their propensity to make what they call bulls, it is difficult to account. There is not a people more brave than the aborigines of Ireland, and among no people do we find a greater proportion of men of genius and talent, while in genuine wit and humour they have no equals, and yet there is a certain liability to blunders, both in their words and actions, that is singular. Whether it is that a mind strong and vigorous, and of extensive range cannot attend to small things; or that a great flow and hurry of animal spirits carries them too fast for reflection; or that

there is a transposition of the brain, so that things present themselves by contraries to the imagination, I cannot tell: but the fact is so that in their own country, as I have been told, when they are taught to dance, which, by the bye, is a hint which I forgot to give you, they bind on the right and left foot different badges, on the one a twisted wisp of straw, which they call a *sugan*, and on the other a band of ozier twisted in like manner, which they call a *gad*; so that when the word is given to raise the one foot and depress the other, it is *rise upon sugan, and sink upon gad*; so, that though the tyro may not all at once, and on the word given, be able to distinguish the right foot from the left, he may easily tell gad from sugan, as his eye can assist his ear in this case, the object being simple; whereas right and left are relative terms, and that which is on the right in one position, will be on the left in the contrary."

Monsieur Douperie was willing to avail himself of this hint; for understanding that the bog-trotter was a candidate for state affairs, he was ambitious of the honour of giving him some proficiency. Instead of a straw sugan, and an ozier gad, he made use of what he thought might be equivalent, viz. a red rag, and a blue; so that instead of bidding him move the right foot or the left, he could desire him to move the red rag or the blue.

Having tied these upon his ancles next morning, he began his lesson. "Now, Monsieur Patrick," said he, "lift de foot dat have de red ribbon."—Teague obeyed with exactness and promptitude, and raised that foot.—"Now," said Monsieur Douperie, "de foot dat have de blue ribbon."—Teague hit the direction, and raised the foot with the rag upon it.

"A la bonne heure, fort bien," said the dancing master: "ver glad Monsieur Patrick you make so good proficiance; en peu de tems, je vous presentera a l'assemblée. You danse ver well, short time."

"Le quatrieme principe," said the dancing master, "de fort lessong est former un pas, to make de step. Voyez Monsieur Patrick, vat I do. You make step, ne pas long step, mais von little step."—The Irishman, attempting to obey the directions and to step, made a stride about an ell in length with his arms stretched out, and gaping at the same time.—"Foutre," said the dancing master; "quoi! Vou baillez; you open de mout yet. Oh! diable! diable! foutre! une bête!"—But composing himself, he proceeded. "Rangez vous a quartier; step to de von side, comme cela;" showing in what manner to step out with one foot at right angles to the other.

Teague endeavouring to confine his feet to rule, felt as much embarrassed as if chained by the heels; and attempting to make the step as requested, and making the usual exertions, with his eyes staring, his arms stretched, and his mouth open, lost the command of himself on the floor, and being thrown from the line of gravity, was about to fall, when, to save himself, he made a catch at the dancing master, and drew him down with him.

The dancing master supposing that he had understood him, though in French, when he had used the term foutre, and called him a beast, and resenting this, was about to take vengeance; and having heard of their mode of biting, gouging, &c., in America, was much alarmed, and disposed to throw himself on the generosity of his pupil, exclaimed, "O! my lord Patrick, excusez moi, pardon Monsieur Patrick, je demande pardon. Pauvre diable que je suis. I be von poor diable. Vous etes un honnete homme. Ver good man. Un homme brave, courageux, absolument un homme brave, gallant, très brave, O! je suis un malheureux, I be von poor diable. Je demande pardon, my lord Patrick."

These were the exclamations of the Frenchman, though at the same time he was uppermost, but entangled by the bog-trotter, who having still a hold of him, was endeavour-

ing to rise, which the other was disposed to prevent, thinking it advisable to retain the advantage he possessed, and to keep him down until he could appease him by his entreaties, or until help should arrive; so continuing his expostulation, he exclaimed, "O! my lord Patrick, faites moi grace. I give you my money. J'ai beaucoup d'argent. I give you an order sur mon intendant de cent Louis; one, two, tree hundred guinea. I forgive de compensation of de lesson."

Teague, in the mean time, having understood that chastisement was usually given at school for inattention or slowness in acquiring the elements, and not understanding broken French, conceived that the dancing master was expressing his resentment, and about to inflict punishment; and therefore endeavoured to excuse himself by a speech on his part. —"God love your soul," said he, "don't be after bating me, because I can't walk like a crippled goose, just at once. By Saint Patrick dis is like stoodying law in de work house, where the first ting is a good bateing: God love your soul, let me up, and I'll step as strait as a lame shape, or a dog wid his leg broke into de bargain."

By this time, struggling, they were both on their feet, the Frenchman still calling out, "voulez vous me tuer? O! ma femme, mes enfans, spare my life my lord Patrick;" and the bog-trotter raising the Irish howl.

Being disengaged, the dancing master made his escape, and waiting on the captain, not wishing to be under the necessity of giving any more lessons, gave him to understand that Monsieur had made ver good proficiance, en ver short time; that he was capable to present himself in public, wiz all de success possible; that it was not necessary to give him any more lessons.

The captain did not suppose that the pupil could have made such advances as the politeness of the Frenchman would lead him to believe, but he concluded he might have acquired what would be sufficient as a foundation for his

obtaining some decency, though not elegance in his manner and deportment.

Paying, therefore, Monsieur Douperie the sum he demanded, and thanking him for the pains he had taken, the Frenchman withdrew.

CHAPTER III.

Captain Farrago gives the future statesman a lecture on manners—Points out some vulgar practices to be avoided.

HAVING bestowed some pains to cultivate the personal movements of the bog-trotter, it now remained to endeavour to improve his manners. This the captain undertook himself; though he had not read Chesterfield, yet he had some common ideas of decency, and delicacy in habits, and behaviour. On this point, addressing his pupil, he began—

"Teague," said he, "you have now got, in literal terms, your rough coat off; that is, you have now a ruffled shirt on, and some better dress, than you used to wear; you have also had some lessons in what manner to stand, or move your feet, as there may be occasion; it remains to instruct you with regard to the habits of delicacy in some matters. You must be careful to keep your hands and face clean; pair your nails, and let no black be under them. Wash the inside of your mouth, and brush your teeth; keep a handkerchief, blow and wipe your nose with this, not with your bare hand, or with the cuff of your coat, or fingers; when you cough with phlegm spit in your hankerchief, even if there should be nothing to spit, lest the imagination of another may suppose that there is.

"In the next place, you will be careful to avoid scratching your head, or putting your hand in the waistband of your breeches, or turning your back to the fire, and pulling up

your coat behind, which is the way of the vulgar. Put but a small quid of tobacco in your mouth, not to swell the cheeks as if you had robbed a weaver of a ball of yarn, and attempted to conceal it there. Do not spit on the floor, if you must spit. The squirting of tobacco-juice, or making puddles of it, is a most filthy practice, and very frequent even among persons otherwise well bred. In eating, sit close to the table; do not put your nose too near the plate; put but a little in your mouth at once; do not speak while your mouth is full, or while you chew. If any one speaks to you in this predicament, bow, as much as to say, I will answer you presently: you will avoid picking your teeth with a fork, or sucking your fingers after fish. Drink healths sparingly, if at all. Do not blow in your cup to cool your tea. Keep your infirmities to yourself, and do not complain of pains in your insides, and avoid the use of the vulgar name of stomach and bowels. A gentleman should have no complaints, unless to his physician, of any thing but the gout, or a fever, or the rheumatism. Give no information of a bad digestion, or food being heavy or light; of your agreeing with this or that food, but its not agreeing with you, as the vulgar say. Take care not to value yourself on your eating, as that will show a gross mind; or on your drinking much, as this is but low ambition. Sing no bawdy songs, especially amongst ladies, such as Brian O'Linn, and Arthur O'Bradley, or Tristram Shandy O. For though these were suitable enough to your former station, and such as you have been accustomed to sing among the girls at the taverns, yet they will not pass amongst more refined company. You must get some more fashionable airs, such as the Bird, or Guardian Angels, or the 'Rose tree in full bearing.' Above all things, Teague, be moderate in the use of whiskey. Never indulge in more than one or two glasses at a time. I fear that this is your weak side, and must be particularly guarded against.

"Even at clubs, amongst gentlemen, I would recommend it to you to avoid lewd and indecent songs; especially if they are of the gross and disgusting kind. As you are an Irishman, a verse or two of Lango Lee might be excusable. It is true, that in the higher ranks, among both males and females, the double entendre is sometimes used; but unless it is with great delicacy, and relieved by singular wit, it is not admissible.

"There are rules of good manners which you are to observe. Such as when you walk with any person, let him walk next the wall; if you are about to enter a room with another, let him enter first: or if about to sit down, give way to another who is also about to sit down. Decline the higher seat: self-denial, real or apparent, is the great secret of the real masters of politeness, the French. You must not talk too much, especially about yourself, boasting, as I have heard you do sometimes, of jumping and trotting, and how you could wrestle. I am afraid, Teague, that after all the pains I am taking with you, you will spoil the broth, by some outbreakings of your old tricks and habits, in some way or other. However, since I have suffered myself to be persuaded to try the matter, let it go on; we shall see the issue of it."

These are the outlines of some of the hints upon manners given by the captain, which were occasionally enlarged upon, and others added from time to time, in the hope of curing Teague of some of the more coarse and more indecent practices, even if he could not give him a very high degree of polish; to which, in fact, he had no great pretensions himself, as his own politeness was little more than the natural promptings of good sense and benevolence of disposition, with some native delicacy of feeling.

CHAPTER IV.

Teague O'Regan is introduced to the political world—The beer-house.

HAVING thus far cultivated the candidate by washing and currying his person, forming his movements, refining his manners, and giving him some ideas of delicacy of behaviour, it now remained to introduce him into a knowledge of politics; and for this purpose, as he could not read the Gazette, or other publications, it became necessary to give him the opportunity of oral information on political questions: and, as attending the debates of Congress, and hearing only in the galleries, would not put it in his power to join occasionally in the debates, and exercise himself in speaking; the attending private clubs, or spending evenings occasionally at beer-houses, seemed the more eligible means to be adopted. Accordingly, an evening after this, the captain, taking him to a beer-house, and occupying a bench, called for a mug of ale, and bade O'Regan attend to the conversations that were going forward.

The redemption of what are called certificates was at that time the subject of debate. It is well known to the readers of the present day in America, but which perhaps will not be so well understood when this work comes to be read an hundred years hence, that the United States, having incurred debts during the war with Great Britain, and being unable at that time to discharge them, could only give certificates of the respective sums due to the several creditors; these they did give to the soldiers of their army, to those from whom they had purchased articles, or who had rendered any service. The prospect not being immediate of the public being in a condition of taking up these, and the necessity of many of the holders pressing, they had transferred their

right in the certificates for a fourth, fifth, or sixth, of their nominal value; in some cases at a much lower rate. The question was, whether, under these circumstances, the original holder should be bound by the contract, and transferee ought to take the whole sum from the public.

It was stated on one side, that it was the folly of the holder to make the contract. There was no fraud or imposition in the case; what he did was with his eyes open. There was no undue advantage on the part of the purchaser, for he took no more than the place of the holder; and the bargain was fair and equal on both sides. The one had a present certainty which he preferred: the other an uncertainty of a greater sum, of which he chose to run the risk. The purchaser who gave credit to the bills of the states, stood in a better point of view than the holder, who distrusting payment, had parted with them.

On the other side it was contended, that the certificates being only the evidence of the debt, the receiving that was no payment; that real service was rendered, and real payment should be made; that the purchaser discovered a distrust of the credit of the government as well as the holder, in not giving the full value, and therefore stood on no better ground; that from the prevailing ideas under which these contracts were made, the holder did conceive himself parting with these securities at an under value, and the purchaser, as obtaining them at that rate, but neither had an idea that the loss on the one hand, or the advantage on the other, could be so great as on the principle of the provision made for the discharge of the public debt it had come to be; that for these and other reasons measures ought to have been adopted of a discrimination between the original holders and the transferees.

O'Regan had listened attentively, and, contrary to the injunction of the captain, with his mouth open. He would willingly have taken a part in the debates, but his master,

thinking the subject too abstruse to begin with, did not seem to approve of it, and shaking his head, repressed the disposition of the bog-trotter; for his happy state of ignorance placed him beyond the disqualifying influence of diffidence or modesty. On the contrary, boldness and assurance he possessed in exact proportion to his want of knowledge.

The next topic of argument was, that of the assumption of the state debts. In order to understand this, we must state, that, in carrying on the war against Great Britain, contracts were made, and debts incurred, on the faith of the confederated states, by their representatives in Congress, and this was called the continental debt. At the same time, contracts were made and debts incurred, on the faith of individual states, by their representatives in the state legislature, and this was called the state debt. This whole debt, continental and state, had been thrown into one mass, and the payment assumed by Congress. The policy of this measure was now canvassed. On the one side it was contended, that as the whole debt, continental or state, was payable by the United States, each state paying the quota apportioned by the resolves of the former Congress, and having credit for what state debt contracted on account of the war, was over or beyond this quota, the question was no more than this, Whether the ways and means of raising money for the discharge of its proportion of the state debt, should remain with any state, as was before in the case of furnishing its quota? or, Whether the United States, assuming the debt in the first instance, should take upon themselves to discharge the whole? that it came to the same thing, as the debt was payable by the whole, and the only question was, with whom it should lie to devise ways and means, to discharge it; that the system of finance became more simple, when the United States assumed the whole, and provided for the payment by ways and means of their own at once; that it would contribute to the energy and secure the establishment

of the federal government, to have that government the immediate debtor of the whole amount.

To this it was answered, that each state was a better judge of the ways and means within itself, for the raising money to discharge its debt; and while the United States, now having command of the imposts, should necessarily take upon them to collect and provide for the discharge of the continental debt, properly so called; yet it might be left with each state as before, to collect and pay over what is called the state debt; receiving credit from the United States, and having a right to draw from thence, any overplus of that proportion which by the resolves of the former Congress they ought to pay of the whole debt.

The captain thinking this subject also above the comprehension of the Irishman, was not willing that he should speak yet.

The next topic was that of the incorporation of the bank of the United States, some contending that no power was given by the constitution to the general government to incorporate banks; others asserting, though not expressly, yet under the article of paying debts, &c., and making laws necessary for that purpose, it was by implication given.

The captain thought this also above the reach of O'Regan, and obliged him to be silent. The treaty made by Jay, the proclamation of neutrality by Washington, the incidents of the revolution raging in France, besides many other topics, was discussed in succession, all beyond the capacity of Teague. At length, the war then carrying on with the Indians became the subject of conversation.

By some it was contended that an Indian was a good creature, simple and inoffensive, like a young child; that you might put your finger in his mouth and he would not bite; that by speaking softly and kindly, and giving him victuals and drink, and leggins, and breech-clouts, and blankets, you might do what you please with him; that

when you gave him ammunition and fire-arms, he would go out and kill turkeys, and shoot down squirrels, and bring you in a deer now and then; and there was no such thing as an Indian stealing a horse, or burning a house, or taking a scalp, unless you had first stolen his horse, or burnt his house, or taken his scalp; that when you made a treaty with these people, they had such a love of justice, such a sense of honour, such perfect command of themselves, and their young men, that there was no danger of their departing from the treaty.

On the other hand it was advanced, that, as a savage differed little from a beast of prey—a wolf, or a panther of the woods; was rude, his passions violent, attached to no farm, cultivating no art; his only amusement or sense of honour war, or hunting, the image of war; his sense of justice little, his sense of honour none at all; no government in his state of society; no security for individual or national engagements; that fear pervading the mass, by reaching the feelings and apprehensions of each individual was the only principle by which they could be governed; that instead of giving goods, as heretofore, it became us to retaliate by a heavy war.

'Such were the arguments on each side of this question; when the captain looking at O'Regan, and observing that he was anxious to advance his opinion, assenting with a bow, or inclination of his head, he seemed to signify that he might speak.'

But before we hear him, it will be necessary to observe, that during the preceding arguments, the company had taken notice of him, as he sat beside the captain with a mug of beer before them; and had wondered in their own minds who he could be; for though he was a little brushed up by this time, as may be supposed, having been at the levee, and taught to dance, and received lessons of delicacy; nevertheless, there was still an uncouthness in his appearance that could not be all at once shaken off.

——"His form had not yet lost
All her original roughness, nor appear'd
Less than a paddy dress'd."—

He therefore the more easily engaged attention, when raising his voice he began as follows:—

"Plase your anours," said he, "I know something about dose bloody Indians. Whin I was out wid de captain I came acrass one o' dem, who affered a hundred dollars for my sculp; he was going to a traty hereabouts. But de captain took my part, and didn't let him take it aff, dirty siviges as dey are. Oh! is'nt it me dat knows all about dem; dey come out of de woods, and stale shape like de robbers in Ireland, and burn houses, and take sculps; trate wid dem! I'd trate wid dem, wid a good shelalah, to break deir heads. Give dem goods! by Saint Patrick, I'd give dem bullets gillore, and shoot dem troo deir heads for deir pains, de nasty divils. If I was in Cangress, and God love your souls, I wish you would put me dere, I would make a law to cut dem aff, every one o' dem. Oh! if my uncle Phelim, and my cousins Dennis and Dermot, and my brother Murtoch, and de oder boys was here, we would chase dem, as you would chase one of deir own shape; and keep dem aff de country, and send dem home to ate deir own pratees. God love your souls, raise a good party and go out upon dem, and bring dem to de court, and not let dem be staling shape, and taking sculps from de poor people.—You tink to plase dem, by spaking blarney, bad luck to dem. Spake a good cudgel upon deir heads, and bid dem be asy dear honies, and keep at deir homes, and be hang'd to dem; plase your anours. Trate wid dem! Trate wid de wolves or de bears, dat run troo de woods. I would trate wid a good knock in deir troat, and be done wid dem entirely."

From the manner in which he spoke, of having been in danger of losing his scalp, and the captain rescuing him, it was understood that he had been in a campaign against the

Indians, and his fervour was excused, and thought natural. Those particularly who were for using force against the savages, thought the Irish gentleman had spoken very well.

Encouraged with this success, the candidate was confirmed in his opinion, that he was fit for any political appointment; and the captain himself began to entertain better hopes of his advances than he had yet done.

CHAPTER V.

Teague begins to make a figure—Is a favourite with the ladies, and gets to be Major O'Regan.

The circumstance of having been at the levee, and having made a speech in the beer-house, which had been much approved, and above all, it being announced that he was a candidate for state employment, had made the bog-trotter a pretty general theme of conversation.—Sundry persons who were expectants upon government, had procured themselves to be introduced to him, as supposing that when in office, by and by, he might have it in his power to do them service. Even by those that were in government, in the legislative, executive, or diplomatic line, he was not neglected. Several members of Congress had left cards. Assistants, and deputy assistants in office, foreign consuls, two or three directors and cashiers of banks, had waited upon him and paid him their compliments.

His name became known in the gay world, and by a gradual introduction, he had become acquainted in some of the best families of the city. The ladies in general, were much taken with him. They thought him a plain, frank, blunt spoken Irish gentleman; not harassing them with deep observations, drawn from books, or an ostentation of learning; but always saying something gallant, and complimen-

tary of their persons, or accomplishments; such as, "God love dhure soul," "My dear craytchur," "But you are de beauty of de world." "Slaping or waking, I could take dhu to my heart, and ate dhu wid de very love dat I have for dhu. When dhu look out o' dhure eyes, it runs troo me like de sun or de moon, and burns me troo and troo like a red coal o' fire! Oh! I am sick and fainting to take dhu to my arms, my dear craytchur."

Declarations of this nature, made without any ambiguity, and warm and violent in their nature, had rendered him, as I have said, pretty generally a favourite of the ladies: far, indeed, beyond any thing which the captain, simple and ignorant of the world, had ever imagined: his astonishment, therefore, was not small, a day or two after this, when walking the street, he saw a carriage pass by, with a gentleman and lady; and, on asking whose carriage that was, and who the gentleman that was in it—for he was struck with some resemblance of the bog-trotter, it was answered, that it was the carriage of Mr. Haberdasher, a merchant of the city, whose lady was taking an airing, it would seem, with Major O'Regan, a member of Congress, or ambassador, or something that was just come to town.—Thought the captain, is it possible! I see that I have been a fool all my life; and though just going out of the world, am but beginning to get experience to live in it. I had been led by his own confidence, and by the opinion of others, though with great doubts on my part, to suppose it possible that he might have come to be of some respect in government; the discharge of an office requiring rather solid than brilliant parts; but that in so short a time, or indeed after any period, he should become a favourite of females of taste and fashion, never entered into my head at all: and forsooth they have given him the appellation of Major, though he is about as much a major as my horse.

Such were the ideas which the circumstance of Teague

in a carriage with a fine lady, naturally produced in his mind. Nor, indeed, should we think them unreasonable, were it not that we know there was nothing extraordinary in the case. For though abstractly considered, it would seem improbable that the female mind, of great delicacy and refinement, should be captivated by a rough and gross object; yet we know that the fact is in nature, and we must leave it to the philosophers to account for it. Nor will this be any difficult task, when we consider the power of imagination. Here was a new object, unknown, as to its origin, and high, as to its pretensions; and what is novel, and not fully comprehended, and lofty in its nature, has a supereminent dominion over the human mind. Hence the proverb, "far fetched, and dear bought, is good for ladies." But on the present occasion, a particular principle operated in favour of the bog-trotter: viz. the taste and fashion of the day. For as in the age of chivalry, a knight was the only object in request; and at the beginning of the revolution in America, a Baron or a Count from France or Germany was the ton, so now, since the adoption of the federal constitution, the appurtenant officers of government are the only characters in vogue. And as in the first instance, mere squires had been taken for knights, and passed very well; and in the second case, tailors and barbers had slurred themselves for gentry or nobility, what could hinder the bog-trotter from availing himself of the whim of the day, and be taken for a person qualified to fill any place in government for the bare pretending to it? And being once taken for such, what prodigy was there in his being in request with the females and all the first families of the city, who might be ambitious and vie with each other in having him married to a niece or a daughter, that so being raised above plebeians by the connection, they might be considered as of a patrician degree? Let the principle be what it would, whether taste or ambition, the fact was that the bog-trotter

was courted and caressed by all the first people: there could be no card party without Major O'Regan. A young lady sitting by a gentleman in any house, and seeing him pass by, would start up, and run to the window and say, "Oh! there is Major O'Regan." When he was in company, and would laugh, and put out his tongue, as if he was about to sing Lillibullero, the young ladies would laugh too; not that there was any jest in what he or they said; but just because the Major had laughed. When he would put out his paw to touch the hand of any of them, "O la! Major," one would say; "O now! Major," another; "don't now Major," a third would exclaim, rather to attract his attention, than to repress his advances.

Indeed, there seemed to be a kind of Teague-o-mania amongst the females, so that all idea of excellence, personal or mental, was centered in him, converting his awkwardness, his ignorant blunders, and his impudence, into so many delightful originalities, or amusing eccentricities, so that all common lovers were neglected or repulsed on his account. A melancholy instance of this kind occurred to the captain the following day, when, walking by the margin of the river on which the city stood, and towards a grove of wood which skirted it on the south, he observed a man sitting on a tuft of the bank, with his head reclining, in a melancholy position, and looking down upon the wave beneath him, in the manner in which Achilles is described by the poet Homer, as looking on the purple ocean, and complaining to the goddess Thetis of the injury done to him, when the maid Briseis had been taken from his arms by the orders of Agamemnon. Sensibly touched with the appearance of woe in any case, the captain could not avoid advancing, and accosting him: "Sir," said he—but what need I take up the time of the reader with stating particularly the words of the address: it is sufficient to say that, with all necessary delicacy, the captain gave him to understand that he took part in his misfortune,

if there was any upon his mind, and would think himself extremely fortunate, if by language or acts, he could alleviate his griefs.

"Sir," said the other, "it is impossible. I am an unhappy man, who have been for some months in love with a young lady of this city, and whose affections I had conceived myself to have engaged by the most unremitting attention. I had counted upon her as my wife, and in all my industry in business, which is that of a merchant, I had my thoughts directed to the provision I hoped to have it in my power to make, in order to support her with dignity and affluence. Yet within these few days her attention is engaged, and her affections alienated by a certain Major O'Regan that is, or is about to be engaged in some public employment."

"Major O'Regan," said the captain, laughing; "is it possible!"

"Do you know him?" said the gentleman.

"Know him," said the captain; "he has been my hostler and boot cleaner, in my travels to this city. I believe I could prevail with him for a pair of breeches, or so, to resign his pretensions to the lady."

At this, the eye of the inamorata began to resume its lustre, and the paleness of his countenance to give way to some freshness of complexion.—"Give me your name, and the name of the lady," said the captain, "and call upon me to-morrow, about nine o'clock, and I will endeavour to make such terms on your behalf with this same Major O'Regan, that he will give you no farther trouble, on the score of the lady."

The inamorato expressed his thankfulness with great animation and fervour; and accepted the invitation to wait upon him at the time proposed, informing him, at the same time, that his name was Williams, and that of the lady was M'Cracken, a daughter of an alderman of the city, of that name.

The captain coming home, addressed the bog-trotter as follows:—"Major O'Regan," said he, "for that, I find, is the title which they have given you, there is a young lady of this town of the name of M'Cracken, whom you have by some means engaged to think favourably of you, to the neglect of a former admirer, a Mr. Williams, a merchant, of this city. This gentleman had a claim upon her from a prior attention; and though there is no municipal law that constitutes it a wrong in you to interfere; yet humanity will dictate that it is a wrong. Because it is a small thing to a man whose affections are not engaged, and who has yet wasted no time upon an object, to decline attention to it, or relinquish it. But to him who has set his mind upon this or that lady, it is death to be repulsed, and a man of honour and delicacy of feeling, who sees the advances of another which are well received, will not interfere, even though the object might be agreeable to him. Much less will he amuse himself at the expense of another, by paying attention, when it is his own vanity alone that he consults, in showing in what point of view he could stand if he should think proper to persist. I hope better things of you Teague, and that you will conduct yourself on the principles of honour and humanity; you will resign this flirt, for such I deem her, who"—he was going to say, who could be tickled with you; but having a point to carry with Teague, he chose to use soft words—"who," continued he, "could so readily change one lover for another. What security have you for the affections of one of so servile a mind? Mr. Williams is a merchant, and has cloths in his store: he will give you the pattern of a pair of breeches to decline your pretensions, and resign the jade to him who had first cast his eye upon her."

Teague, much more from this last part of the argument, than from the sentiments of delicacy, &c., which were laid down in the first of it, consented to relinquish the dulcinea;

and so when Mr. Williams called at the hour proposed, an order for the making of a pair of breeches was given, and the bog-trotter pledged his word, that he neither would laugh, talk, walk, or ogle with her any more.

Shortly after this, while reading a newspaper, the captain heard two men conversing at the opposite end of the saloon in which they sat, one of them expressing his concern that having a cause to be tried before the court then sitting, his lawyer Mr. Hardicknute could not attend, being indisposed; and, as it was alleged, from a disappointment in love, by a Miss Thimbleton, who was of late, as it appeared, taken with a certain Major O'Regan, an Irish gentleman of some note, who had taken notice of her.

Inquiring the residence of the gentleman, and being informed, the captain, ever prompt to do offices of humanity, immediately calling for Teague, who was in the bar-room of the waiter getting him to write a love-letter for him, set out on a visit to Lawyer Hardicknute, and being admitted to his chamber, where he lay languishing in bed, accosted him, and gave him to understand that he knew the cause of his complaint, not by feeling his pulse, as did the physician of Demetrius, who was in love with Stratonice: nor by any power of conjuration; but simply by hearing it from a client who was interested in his recovery; and that in consequence of this information he had come to relieve him, and had brought the identical Major O'Regan along with him, who, for half a johannes, was ready to resign all pretensions to the lady. This the captain presumed, from his former influence with the Irishman, and from his succeeding on the former occasion.

The sick lawyer at this sat up; and having put on his gown and slippers, expressed great thanks to the captain and the major, and very readily handed a half johannes from his bureau, and calling for pen, ink, and paper, for he was not sufficiently restored to go to his office, he signified that

it would be proper the major should give him some instrument of writing as evidence of the contract. It was agreed on the part of the captain and the bog-trotter; and the lawyer wrote, as follows:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Teague O'Regan, major, am held and firmly bound unto John Hardicknute, in the sum of one hundred pounds, money of the United States, well and truly to be paid to him the said John, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns. Given under my hand and seal, this second day of June, in the year of Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

"The condition of the above obligation is such, That if I, the said Teague O'Regan, shall withdraw all attention, courtship, or wooing, on my behalf, from a certain Martha Thimbleton, lady, then the said obligation to be void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue."

his
TEAGUE ⋈ O'REGAN,
mark.

This matter being fully settled, the captain and the bog-trotter took their leave and departed. On their way home, a man was seen to run across the street, dressed in black, but without hat, coat, or breeches on. The captain conceived it must be some mad sans culotte, or unbreeched person that had come over from Paris, and was running through the streets here, in order to bring about a revolution; but, on inquiry, he was informed, that it was the Rev. Mr. M'Whorter, a young clergyman, who had been deranged in his understanding on account of a preference given by Miss Fiddle to a certain Major O'Regan, who had seemed to have engaged her affections; that it was first discovered on the preceding Sunday, when, in his prayer, instead of saying, "give us this day our daily bread," he repeated, "give us this day our daily Miss Fiddle;" and instead of saying, "deliver us from evil," as he ought to have done,

he said, "deliver us from Major O'Regan;" that ever since he had been getting worse, and now had thrown off a part of his garments, and exposing himself in public, appeared to be mad altogether.

The captain, thinking on the subject, was about to parody that line of the poet, and to say—

> "Ye gods, what havoc does O'Regan make
> Amongst your works————"

But repressing all poetical flights, he wished to lose no time, but as speedily as possible to wait upon the unfortunate ecclesiastic, and by easing his mind, remove his derangement. Accordingly, pursuing the clergyman, and having had him seized and conveyed to a chamber, he endeavoured to make him sensible that Major O'Regan, the cause of his misfortune, who was there present, was ready to quit claim to Miss Fiddle, and give him no cause of uneasiness any farther: for this, on their way, the bog-trotter, in consideration of an interest in the clergyman's prayers, had promised to do. But poor Mr. M'Whorter was too far gone. He could talk of nothing, but some incoherent jargon, consisting of a mixture of scripture and profane language, one while about Miss Fiddle and Major O'Regan; another while of Daniel in the lion's den, and Jonas in the whale's belly, and the devil running into swine. He would imagine sometimes, that the devil was in himself, and would squeal like a pig.

The matter being thus hopeless, they sat off to come home. On their way they fell in with a man who called himself a doctor, and had a blistering-plaster in his hand, and a gallipot, and a clyster-pipe, tied with a string, about his neck, and hanging down his back; and had alarmed two or three ladies just before, offering his services in the way of his profession. On inquiry, it was found, that it was the celebrated Doctor Cataplasm that had lost his senses, within three days past, on account of a Major O'Regan, that was

likely to carry off Miss Blasm, to whom the doctor had been a suitor for several years, and with whom he had just been on the point of marriage. Despairing, from the late experiment, of doing any thing with mad people, the captain waived any trouble with the doctor, and looked sternly at Teague; "this will never do," said he: "I cannot reconcile it to myself to be in the most distant way accessary to so much mischief; and as, from a deference to the judgment of others, and to your importunity, I have suffered myself to be the means of introducing you to this sphere, I must take care to repair the injury as far as may be in my power, or at least prevent an increase of it as much as possible. If there is some talismanic charm, God knows what it is, in your person or appearance, that makes you thus formidable to the peace and happiness of others in giving this success amongst the females; and if you have not generosity, or moral sense of duty, to use your advantage consistent with humanity, it is full time you should be checked and drawn from this sphere altogether, and sent to your former bog-trotting, or put into the state, if you can get there, that honest men may marry their wenches, whose affections they had previously engaged."

The bog-trotter was somewhat obstreperous; or, as the vulgar say, obstrapalous, on the occasion; and seemed to signify that he would not desist; but would pay attention to whom he thought proper.

The captain saw that it was a difficult matter to lay the devil he had raised; and his hopes rested in this, that he was but the bubble of a day, and that though light-headed young women, in the unfortunate cases mentioned, had given him a visible preference, yet it was rather to torture their former lovers, with a view to try the strength of their passion, than with any intention seriously to make choice of him, and finally accept him for a husband. For he could not think it possible that a woman of fashion and education

would ultimately be willing to give her hand to such a ragamuffin. If, indeed, he would come to be a judge or a governor, such a thing might take place: but as it was, it seemed to outrage all credibility.

In this he was mistaken: for, but the very next day, he was waited on by Mr. Fairskin, a merchant of the city, who was in the wholesale and retail way as a grocer, and who had an only daughter, Miss Fairskin, to whom the Irishman had made his most serious proposals. It was to her, by the assistance of the waiter, that he had been writing love-letters. The grocer, who was a cautious man, before he would consent to the match, thought proper to call upon the captain, whom he understood to be the uncle, or guardian, of the young gentleman, with a view of inquiring into his expectations.

"Expectations!" said the captain, "why just this: that if he should chance to get into office, it is well; and if not, he must return to his bog-trotting."—"Bog-trotting!" said the merchant.—"Aye, bog-trotting," said the captain; "what else would he do? It is but ten days, or thereabouts, since he quitted it; and since, by taking him to levees, and beer-houses, and rubbing and scrubbing him, and teaching him to dance, and giving him lessons of manners, he has been made fit to appear in the gay world. He has but that pair of breeches he has on, and a pattern not made up yet, that merchant Williams gave him; and for my part, I have done all for him that I can do. There is just the truth, sir; and if you choose to take him for your son-in-law, you are welcome; but as, thank God, I have preserved a principle of candour and honesty all my life, I will not deceive on this occasion; and if the match should prove unfortunate, you will not have me to blame."

Mr. Fairskin expressed, by the staring of his eye, his astonishment; and as soon as he could speak, thanked the captain for his candour: and declared his resolution, "that

if Major O'Regan, as he had the assurance to call himself, should again come to his house, he would turn him out of doors; and that, if his daughter should give him the least countenance for the future, he would disown her entirely. He had taken the greatest pains with her in her education; she had been taught all the polite accomplishments that could become a lady: dancing, music, painting, reading French, the belle-lettres, geography, &c.; and if, after all this, she would throw herself away on a ragamuffin, to the discredit of the family, he would no longer take notice of her."

"Fair and softly," said the captain; "I have a word of advice to give on the subject. It is true, I have not travelled much through the world, so as to visit France, Italy, Spain, or Portugal; nevertheless, I have some general knowledge of the principles of human nature—not only from books, but from my own observation, of the small circumstances that have fallen in my way, and reflection upon them—and have found, that in the intellectual province, as well as in material works, art accomplishes more than force; nay, as in mechanism, the arch is strengthened by the very weight you put upon it: so, where the imagination is concerned, the attachment is fixed by an opposition to it. Hence it is, that the dissuasion of parents, guardians, or friends, is often so ineffectual with their daughters or wards in matters of love. It will behoove you on this occasion, in order to accomplish your object, to conceal your knowledge of the circumstances communicated; to allow the bog-trotter free ingress and egress as usual, and to affect to speak of him with respect. Leave it to me to say such things to the young lady, as under pretence of recommending her lover, will be effectual to disgust her, and remove the attachment."

Impressed with the sincerity and good sense of the captain, he consented to be guided by him in this business; and accordingly going home, was silent to the mother and daughter with respect to the conversation he had with the

old gentleman, who was considered the uncle of Teague; and the following day the captain waited upon the family, and was introduced by Mr. Fairskin, who, retiring under pretence of business, left him alone with the daughter and mother, to make use of the means he had proposed; for the gentleman well knew that O'Regan was a great favourite with the mother, and that it would be as difficult to convince her as the daughter of the imposition in his character. Nay, as she had promoted the match, her pride, unless she herself was the first to detect the imposture, would hinder her from seeing it, or at least acknowledging it at all.

Being seated, conversation ensued, and Mrs. Fairskin paid the captain many compliments on the fine figure and address of his nephew. Miss Fairskin hung down her head, and blushed, as being in the presence of the uncle of her lover, and hearing the name of Major O'Regan mentioned. "Why madam," said the captain, "I understand that the bog-trotter has been well received in your family. It is true, I am not his uncle, nor is he a major; nevertheless, many uncles have had worse nephews, and there have been majors that did not perhaps ever see so much service: for I have understood from himself that he was enlisted once when he was drunk, and was awhile in the barracks in Dublin, but got off when the matter came to be examined, and it was found that advantage had been taken of him. For the lord lieutenant had given strict orders that, in enlistments, the utmost fairness should be used; nor, indeed, was it necessary in time of peace to take advantage, because there were men enough to be got voluntarily, and deliberately to enter the service. Nor indeed had Teague himself any objections to be a soldier, but that his constitution had not given him that courage which is necessary to enable a man to face an enemy with fire-arms; he could cudgel at a fair with a batabuy, where he was supported by others that would take the weight of the battle off his hands; but, except to wrestle at

cornish-hug, as he calls it, with a hostler now and then, I never knew him fond of any contention whatsoever. I understand that he has been fortunate enough to render himself agreeable to the young lady, your daughter, and I congratulate myself on the prospect of having so accomplished a young woman to be the wife of my domestic. I have had him now these three years. I bought him out of a ship of Irish servants. He has been always faithful to me in the offices in which I employed him, such as brushing boots, and rubbing down my horse. It is true, his manners were a little rude at first; but I have taken a good deal of pains to teach him some of the outlines of a decent behaviour, such as to blow his nose with a handkerchief, and keep from indecent practices in company, too gross to mention; and though he takes long strides, as you may see, from wearing brogues and bog-trotting; yet, in the course of time, this and other habits may be broke by being in genteel society. He has made considerable improvements in the short time I have taken pains with him. Though but ten days since he was heaved down, and curried and brushed up for a gentleman, he has learned to chew food without greasing his chin and cheeks. If he should fall into the hands of a lady of taste, as he is like to do, she may improve him still more. It will be of particular advantage to him to get a woman that can write and read; which I understand Miss Fairskin can do very well; for as he can neither read nor write himself, it is necessary that there should be one of a family that can. He has been fortunate at the taverns where we lodged, to get the waiters to write and read billets; but such cannot be always at hand for these things; but a wife may. It is true his hopes in government are uncertain, as to being an ambassador or consul, but he may get to be a valet-de-chambre to one of these; and though the ambition of Miss Fairskin may not be so much flattered as to be the lady of a minister, yet true happiness

is to be found in contentment; and the love she has for his person, to make amends for the want of rank and honour, much more for the want of fortune; for riches are but dross, and the maid of a kitchen may be as happy as the mistress in the parlour. His fortune indeed is not much. He has nothing of his own, but what dress he wears, and a pattern of a pair of breeches not yet made up. My estate is but small, consisting in a farm, a trifle of cash, and one old horse, on which I have rode from home, while he trotted by my side. Nevertheless, if he marries Miss Fairskin, I will endeavour to do something for him, and for two or three years to come will engage to find him in breeches and waistcoats."

The young lady was confounded and withdrew. The mother was silent, and with all her heart wished the captain gone, that she might digest her mortification in private. The captain saw all this; but, without seeming to see it, preserved a grave countenance, and with some apology of having an engagement, so that he could not have the honour of a longer conversation, he took his leave.

The dialogue that took place after this, between the mother and the daughter, may be more easily imagined than expressed. It was concluded that when O'Regan came next to the house, the porter should be ready with a cowskin to give him a suitable reception.

Mr. Fairskin coming in, was made acquainted with the discovery of Major O'Regan's history. Affecting to be as much astonished as themselves, he observed, "that it would be, however, proper to dismiss him with civility, as he had been received in the capacity of a suitor." Here Miss Fairskin again blushed, not as at first, with an affected blush of modesty when Major O'Regan was at any time mentioned, but with the blush of confusion and shame. The mother, discovering in her countenance all the emotions of wounded pride, and ungovernable resentment, avowed her determina-

tion to have him received with a cowskin by the porter. The father, Fairskin, affecting to acquiesce, as these were matters in which he did not wish to concern, did but confirm the resolution.

Accordingly, that evening, when the bog-trotter, being on the point of marriage, as he thought, came to take tea with Miss Fairskin, ringing the bell, and being admitted, an Englishman, of powerful muscle and bone, who served in the capacity of porter, being prepared with a very heavy cowskin, made an attack upon him. The Irishman exclaimed, and called out for Miss Fairskin. "O! God love your dear ladyship, Miss Fairskin; by Saint Patrick, by de holy apostles, I shall be kilt and murdered into de bargain! O! I shall be kilt and murdered. God love your soul, stop wid your cowskin, till I says my prayers, and spare my life: O! I shall be kilt and murdered, O! dis night in de house here. Miss Fairskin, where is your dear ladyship, to look upon me wid your eyes, and save me from dis bating. O! I am kilt and murdered."

Saying these words, the porter had kicked him out of the house, and shutting the door, left him to his exclamations in the street.

Coming home to the captain, he made a woeful complaint of what had befallen him, which the latter took care not to alleviate, but increase; alleging, that it must have been some former lover of the lady, who was exasperated at the preference given, and took this method of revenge; that he now saw how dangerous it was to interfere with men of spirit in their courtships, and he ought to be more careful for the future.

CHAPTER VI.

The author vouches for the veracity of this history—Lessons of philosophy to be drawn from the facts here recorded.

HAVING given the preceding history, and put my name to it, there is no man that knows me will doubt of the truth of it: for I have always considered the first character of an historian to be veracity; and in all my former compositions, have endeavoured to preserve that character. There being, therefore, no doubt of the facts, it will remain only to account for them, and indeed, though we have partly done it already in some observations we have made, yet this, and the like circumstances, which occur every day in life, of Teague O'Regans and bog-trotters being the favourites of ladies in preference to the most accomplished men, is so contrary to what we would expect, that it may deserve a more minute development of the causes and principles. In early times, and even yet amongst simple and uninformed people, the effect has been attributed to love potions or witchcraft; that is, either to some drug, or draught affecting the nerves, and deranging the brain; or to some supernatural power operating on the faculties. But exploding these, we shall endeavour to explain the phenomenon upon the common principles of the affections of the heart, and the power of the imagination. But it must be presumed that in general, advantage of person, good sense, and virtue prevail with the females; and where the opposite is the case, it is to be considered as out of the common course of choice. Why it ever should be so, may depend on this: that a Teague O'Regan, having little sensibility of nerve, has all that apathy from nature which the man of address has from habit, and more steadily, because the one is nature, the other art: and coolness in love is a great secret of success. Sen-

sibility is irritable, unpersevering, desponding, extravagant; and hence it is that no man who is deeply enamoured of a lady, before she has conceived some attachment on her part, has an equal chance to be acceptable. The fond love of a refined mind produces silliness in proportion to the delicacy of the feelings; and the contrast being more observable, the wise man becomes, or appears to be, the greater fool. The Teague O'Regan makes love without any heart at all; he attends upon a lady as he would tread mortar; flatters her as he would speak to a parrot, or stroke a cat, without a single sensation to disturb him. The appearance of security on the part of the lover gives the lady to suppose that he is conscious of advantages, and of course that there must be such which she does not discover; or conceiving that she has not yet absolutely engaged him, she makes it an object to inspire his attachment, and the very exercise of her own passions kindles a flame; for hopes and fears are the elements of love. A Teague O'Regan has no sentiment of his own, and therefore he approves all the reason, and laughs at all the wit of the lady; so that putting her in love with herself, she becomes in love with him. A man of sense expresses it; but if contrary to the lady's sense, she thinks it ...nse, and he becomes the Teague O'Regan in her ...igme ..

Again, a Teague O'Regan is repressed by no sense of honour, or regard to a permanent happiness; from passing himself for what he is not, and practising imposition; talking of his great relations when he has none, and of an estate when the right owner, as the Irish phrase is, keeps him out of it; and provided he can obtain the lady, he never thinks of the catastrophe when the deception is discovered.

A Teague O'Regan is less opposed by his rivals; because no one supposes that he can prevail. He is assisted by the female acquaintance of the lady, because they wish her mortified by making a bad choice. In affairs of love there is

no lady has a friend except a father, an uncle, or a brother; not always a mother, seldom a sister, but never any one else. Because the pride of a mother may be hurt by the defect of attention to herself; the jealousy of a sister is roused, even though provided for, lest it should appear she had not married equally well; and therefore the greater fool, the more friends he has with all the world in his advances. But setting all these principles aside, a particular circumstance, as in the case of the bog-trotter, may operate for the season and make it an object to be addressed by him.

I shall conclude these strictures, by laying down some rules for a prudent father, or guardian, to correct the imagination of a young lady, who appears to be fascinated with a bog-trotter; and in doing this, I conceive I shall render essential service to humanity. It is a painful thing, having accumulated property for the sake of a child, and having taken pains to improve and polish, to have her thrown away upon a beast; for according to the expression of the poet, some men are beasts, compared with others.

> Man differs more from man,
> Than beast from beast.—*Wilmot.*

As love then is the offspring of the imagination, reason has nothing to do with it. Ridicule is the only means. Never let the Teague O'Regan be opposed, or excluded from the house; but invited, and laughed at; in the mean time giving the lady no reason to suppose that it is suspected she could possibly have any fancy for such a person. The father or guardian may engage some persons of both sexes, in confidence, to join in the ridicule, and relate or invent incidents of his absurdities; for as the bog-trotter is making an attack upon the honour and happiness of the family, it is self-defence, and justifiable to counteract him by stratagem, when open force will not avail. No object that is made ridiculous can appear amiable; and as to what is respectable, we depend much more upon the opinion of others,

than our own. If a lover is opposed, the lady attributes it to an old musty taste in the father, or to envy and jealousy in others, and out of pride she will support him; whereas, if he is ridiculed, she becomes ashamed of him, and gives him up. I have thought it worth while to give this hint; because the greater part of our romances and comedies in the English language are calculated to depreciate the respect which a young lady ought to have for the opinion of aged and grave persons, and to confirm her in taking the Teague O'Regan of her own choice. For all such are usually represented as old musty curmudgeons, or grannys, whose judgments are not worth regarding, and whose taste, in affairs of love, as in their dress, is antiquated, unfashionable, and absurd; but the adventurers, and fortune hunters, are all possessed of taste, and spirit, and gallantry, and carry off the damsel and make her happy. They stop just at the marriage, and give no view of the disgust, repentance, and unhappiness that ensues.

CHAPTER VII.

The captain takes advantage of the humiliation of O'Regan to keep him to his studies—Succeeds in teaching him to write his name—The dexterous method taken to get rid of the major's fashionable correspondents.

Taking advantage of the humiliated state of mind in which the bog-trotter now was, from the late cowskinning he had received, the captain thought he could be drawn off from an extreme attention to the ladies, and engaged to apply to the qualifying himself for state affairs. Accordingly, continuing his address to him, he observed,—that though gallantry and waiting upon ladies was very agreeable, yet prudence ought to be observed, not to create enemies by

seeming to engross their attention, so as to put a man in danger of duels, and cowskinnings: at the same time it behoved a man not to suffer his gallantry to interfere with business; and more especially in the early stages when he was about qualifying himself for any occupation or appointment; that as he (Teague O'Regan) was a candidate for state affairs, he ought to check his career and withdraw himself for some time from the gay circles, in order to acquire some small things which were necessary to the creditable and convenient discharge of a public function; such as learning to write his name if possible. As to learning to read or write generally, that would be a work of years, if at all acquirable at his period of life; but he might be taught to imitate the few characters that composed his name, in such a manner as to pass for it; so that when he had to sign despatches or commissions, or the like, he need not be under the necessity of making his mark, like an Indian at a treaty; he might do something that would pass for the letters of the alphabet. So providing him with a room, and placing a table before him with an inkstand, and strewing some papers, and furnishing him with spectacles, as if he was already making out dispatches, he began to instruct him in making the letters, T E A G U E, &c.

But he had scarcely begun, when the waiter coming in delivered a parcel of cards and billets for Major O'Regan. The captain instantly reflecting that this correspondence with the gay world would undo all that he was doing, and draw off the bog-trotter from his lessons, as soon as the smart of the cowskinning had worn off, saw it was necessard to read the billets as from different persons, and containing language different from what was in them. The cards being chiefly from men in public employment, he read as they really were. Opening one of the largest of the billets, "aye," said he, "there is more of it. Do you know this Johnston, that seems so much enraged about Miss

Muslin to whom you have paid some attention?" By the by, it was a billet from Miss Muslin, to whose acquaintance it would seem he had been introduced; but the captain read Johnston.

"By de holy fathers," said Teague, "I know no Johnston."

"He sends you a challenge," said the captain, "to meet him on the commons this evening at six o'clock, with a brace of pistols and a second to determine whether you or he has the best right to pay attention to this lady." We shall give the billet as written by the lady, and as read by the captain.

AS WRITTEN BY THE LADY.

Would wish to have the pleasure of Major O'Regan's company this evening at tea. Lawyer Crabtree and Doctor Drug will be here; and you know we shall split our sides laughing at the ninnies. You're so full of your jokes that I want you here. Dear Major, don't be engaged, but come.

Yours sincerely,

Wednesday morning. PATTY MUSLIN.

AS READ BY THE CAPTAIN.

SIR—You will instantly do one of two things, either relinquish your attention to Miss Muslin, and be no more in her company; or meet me this evening precisely at six o'clock, on the commons back of the Potter's-field, with a brace of pistols, and a second, to take a shot. I shall have a coffin ready, and a grave dug, for whichever of us shall have occasion to make use of it.

Your humble servant,

BENJAMIN JOHNSTON.

Major Teague O'Regan.

In the same manner he read the other billets, converting them from love letters into challenges to fight with mortal weapons, or into declarations of cudgelling, and cow-

skinning, if he interfered any farther in his attentions to such and such ladies.

The bog-trotter began to think the devil was broke loose upon him, and very readily gave the captain leave to write answers, declining all combats, and declaring his compliance with all that was requested of him.

The waiter was the only person, who, by receiving the billets, and handing them in the absence of the captain, and reading them to Teague, might inflame his mind with the thoughts of the fine ladies, and gay circles from which he seemed to be just recovered: taking him aside, therefore, and accosting him, "Matthew," said he, for that was the name of the waiter, "I do not know, that I ought to find any fault with your giving your service for some time past to my Teague, in reading the billets directed to him, and in writing his answers; but I desire that there may be nothing more of this. As he is about to be closely engaged for some time to come, in acquiring some scholarship, and preparing to enter on some state appointment, I do not choose that his mind should be taken off by affairs of compliment or love. All billets therefore directed to him, you will for the future hand to me."

The waiter promised compliance, and said it was all the same thing to him, as all he had done, was to oblige the major; and if it was disagreeable to him, (the captain,) he should do no more of it.

However, Teague continuing still to have some hankering after the company of the ladies, so as not to have his mind so much upon learning to write the characters of his name as the captain could have wished, he found it necessary to engage the bar-keeper to assist him in personating now and then, some one who had come to demand satisfaction for the interference of the bog-trotter in affairs of love, that by keeping up the alarm on his mind, he might the better confine him to his studies.—According to the plan agreed upon,

the bar-keeper, knocking at the door, and the captain opening it a little, and demanding his business; "is there not a Major O'Regan here," he would say, (with a counterfeit voice,) "who has pretensions to Miss Nubbin? (one of those who had sent billets,) I wish to see the gentleman, and try if I can put this sword in his body;" "God love your soul," would O'Regan say, "dear captain don't let him in. I shall die wid fear upon de spot here; for I never fought a man in could blood in my life."—Here the bar-keeper as recognizing the voice of O'Regan—"yes," would he say, "I find he is here, let me in, that I may put this through him; I had paid my addresses to Miss Nubbin, and was just about to espouse her, when unlike a gentleman, he has interfered and turned her head with his attentions. By the New Jerusalem, I shall be through his windpipe in a second." Teague hearing this and raising the Irish howl, would redouble his entreaties to the captain not to let him in. The captain would say, "Sir, if you mean to make a pass at him, you must make it through me; for I shall not stand to see a friend of mine run through the body. You may therefore desist, or I shall have you taken into custody as a breaker of the peace." With this he would shut the door, and the bar-keeper would go off cursing and swearing that he would have revenge for the insult that had been offered him, by the Irishman.

By these artifices, certainly innocent as the object was good, for it can be no injury to deceive a man to his own advantage, or to prevent mischief; by these artifices the captain succeeded in preventing a correspondence with the gay world, and detaching the mind of his pupil from the gallantries of love. But when any member of Congress or officer of state called upon him he was admitted. Treddle called frequently, and declared that he had no resentment on account of Teague's proposing to be his competitor, at the election in the country; but wished him success in obtaining some appointment where his talents might be useful.

CHAPTER VIII.

Captain Farrago is about to despair of the advancement of O'Regan, when he receives a billet from the president on the subject of an appointment—He is made an officer in the excise on whiskey.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fairy scene of imagination with respect to the advancement of Teague, in which the captain had suffered himself to be engaged, yet sometimes he would begin to doubt with regard to reality of the prospects, and to question whether, after all, it was probable that the executive of the United States would think him adequate to the discharge of judicial or ministerial functions, and appoint him accordingly. Ruminating one day on this subject, a servant presented a billet. It was from the President of the United States, expressing a desire to see the captain, and to converse with him relative to the appointment of the young man in his service, of the name of Teague O'Regan, to some office in the government. Nothing could be more opportune: for the captain at that moment, weary of his charge, and despairing of success, was just about to relinquish all further prosecution of his object; and to remand Teague to his boot-cleaning and horse-currying as formerly. It may easily be supposed that he lost no time in having his coat and hat brushed, and setting out to wait on his excellency. Presenting himself, he was asked to sit down; and the conversation opening on the subject of O'Regan, and his qualifications for office, the captain not willing to be the means of deception in the introduction of his valet, thought proper to deal candidly with his excellency, and to give him an exact account of the education and history of the bog-trotter; that if, on a full view of his character, he should think proper to appoint him, the responsibility might lie with himself. "For to be candid," said the captain,

"I should doubt the expediency of appointing him in the first instance, to any of the higher offices of government, such as secretary of state or even that of secretary at war, the latter, I presume, requiring less talents than the former: the business of a soldier lying more in the heart than in the head. As to secretary of the treasury, I should bar that altogether; as it might be unsafe all at once to trust him with much money, until he had given greater proofs of fidelity in this particular, than those of his rank are usually found to possess. The diplomatic line might suit him best, were it not that the sending him off the continent will put him out of the way of that superintendence which for some time I myself am willing to take of him, until he shall have acquired habits of diligence, and principles of integrity in business." The president smiled, doubtless at the idea of the sans culotte, (for such I figuratively called him, because he had now got breeches,) being at all in the way of appointment to such trusts; for a thought of the kind had never come into his mind. He was thinking of an office of much less dignity, and which came nearer to the capacity and grade of ordinary education. It was that of a collector of the excise on whiskey beyond the mountains. Having mentioned this, the captain approved of it, and thanked his excellency and took his leave.

Teague having received his commission, was elated beyond measure, and impatient to set out to his district, in order to enter on the functions of his office.* The captain having purchased him a horse, for he refused to bog-trot any longer, the revenue officer took leave of his old master, who had previously given him much good advice with regard to duty in office, and promised to follow him, as soon as he could provide himself with another servant, that he

* Teague was appointed to an office that no one would accept, his predecessors having been tarred and feathered. Under other circumstances, his appointment would outrage probability.

might be on the spot to give him countenance, and assist him occasionally, with such farther lessons of prudence and morality, as his experience in life might enable him to give, and which it could not be unbecoming in one of his age, however dignified by office, to receive.

CHAPTER IX.

O'Regan takes his departure, and the captain looks out for another servant—Duncan Ferguson, the new squire—Sets out after the excise officer—Conversation with Duncan.

O'Regan having thus departed, it became the captain to look out for another servant; and deliberating on this subject, Mr. M'Donald, the Scotch gentleman, of whom we have before spoken, happening to enter, the captain explained to him the circumstance, and made inquiry with regard to his knowledge of any one that chose to be employed in this way, and might be fit for the service. Said Mr. M'Donald, "I ken a lad right weel, of the name o' Duncan Ferguson, frae about Perth in Scotland, that is trusty and vera fit to wait upon a gentleman, except it be that he may gie ye o'r muckle trouble about religion, having had a vera strict education i' the presbytery; gin ye can put up wie that, I sal warrant him honest, and vera faithful to his master, and that he will take guid care of your horse. He is about thirty years of age, and has been a guid deal in service, and knows what it is to wait on guid houses in his ain kintra; I dinna ken how he may suit all places in these parts; but wie a man o' your judgment, I think he may do vera weel."

The captain thanked him for the information; and having conceived a good opinion of Mr. M'Donald's integrity and sense, he was willing to take the young man upon the recommendation he had given.

Accordingly, being sent for by Mr. M'Donald, the North Briton came, and presented himself. The wages of his services being agreed upon, he entered on his functions the same day; and in a short time the captain having paid his bills in the city, set out with Duncan on the same route with Teague.

Duncan, in like manner with Teague, had to walk on foot; for our modern chevalier could not afford to purchase another horse, more especially as he had considerably exhausted his finances by the late equipment of Major O'Regan. But even could he have made it convenient to have increased his cavalry, the expenses of travelling would have been increased, which he could not also well afford; or which it would not have been within the limits of a strict economy to have incurred. For travelling slowly, the servant could without weariness equal the pace of his master on horseback. Besides, it gave diversity, and had more the air of ancient custom, than being both mounted. It was in this manner the Gauls, who fought with Cæsar, equipped their dragoons, as we learn from the commentaries; and also the Numidian horse under Jugurtha, as we learn from Sallust, had each a footman by his side, who sometimes assisted himself by the mane of the quadruped in running; but was at all times considered as attached to the rider, and ready to subserve him in battle. The Scotchman, moreover, had but a light luggage to carry: being nothing more than a couple of shirts, a pair of stockings, a kilmarnock cap, a Confession of Faith, Satan's Invisible Kingdom Discovered, and Crookshank's History of the Covenanters.

It was upon the topic of religion that the conversation first turned, Duncan asking the captain of what denomination he was? "I am denominated Captain," said he; "though I have had other epithets occasionally given me by the people amongst whom I have happened to sojourn, especially since my last setting out on my travels, after the manner of

the ancient chevaliers. I have been called the modern Don Quixotte, on account of the eccentricity of my rambles, or the singularity which they conceive themselves to discover in my conversation and manner. I have been called the Knight of the Single Horse, having but one myself, and none for my attendant; in this particular unlike my predecessors, whose squires were mounted as well as themselves. In some places I have taken my designation from the Irish valet that I had, and of whom you have heard me speak, of the name of Teague, and have been called the owner of the red-headed bog-trotter; as it is probable I may now be designated occasionally by the appellation of the master of the raw Scotchman, by those who may be able by your dialect to distinguish your origin. It is of little, or perhaps no consequence to me, what my designation is among men; provided it contains nothing in it that may impeach my moral character, and may seem to have been drawn from some bad quality or vicious habit of the intellect. They may call me Don Quixotte, or Hudibras, or the Knight of Blue Beard, or the Long Nose, or what they please: it is all the same to me; and gives no affront, unless containing a reflection on my integrity."

"Captain," said Duncan, "it canna be, but ye ken right weel what I mean. It is na the denomination o' your temporal capacity that I wad be at; but o' your religion, and to what persuasion you belong; whether o' the Covenant, or o' the Seceders, or the High Kirk o' Scotland."

"Duncan," said the captain, "I am not such an adept in faith, as to be acquainted with these nice distinctions. I have some knowledge of the Christian religion in general; but not of those more minute subdivisions of which it is probable you speak.—I have embraced it not merely because it was the religion of my fathers, but because it meets the approbation of my own judgment. In this community composed of all religious denominations, it behooves us to

be liberal and tolerant. I have understood that Christianity is the national religion in Scotland, and I presume what you call Covenanters, and Seceders, are sections from the general establishment, and subordinate to the worship of the kingdom. It has not come in my way, nor have I much ambition to be more particularly acquainted. It is unavoidable for men to view the most simple subjects in different lights, according to circumstances, and the different organization of their minds. These *Varietés des Eglises*, (which is the title of a voluminous French work,) are little short of infinite, for they vary with every mind, and I think it more curious than profitable to study them.* There is a degree of information on most subjects which it becomes a gentleman to have; but the going beyond this may savour of pedantry, and argue the having spent more time in trifles, than bespeaks strength of mind and elevated talents. Just as we respect the naturalist who amuses us with the philosophy of great objects, but smile at him whose life is occupied in catching butterflies, or gathering petrified shellfish. Or to give a simile that conveys my meaning better; skill in language, either to write or speak, is a noble attainment; but this consists more in the leading beauties, than in the criticisms of a mere grammarian, which show the mind to have been wholly or chiefly taken with these: To use the words of the poet,

> 'Word catchers that live on syllables;
> Commas and points they set exactly right,
> And 'twere a sin to rob them of their mite.'

"The most liberal studies may be pursued to an illiberal excess; as for instance in music, where it must be considered as an elegant accomplishment to have some talents;

* I know a stiff old presbyterian elder who was offended on the score of *conscientious scruple* at the clerk of the meeting for giving out more than one line at a time. The custom probably originated when books were scarce.

yet not to have made such proficiency in the execution, on the part of him who is not a musician by profession, as to induce a suspicion of attention to this art, to the neglect of others. I have taken care to acquire a general knowledge of the surface of this earth, from the maps; yet have not made myself master of the situation of every slough or bog that may be found in your country, or exact bearing of hill or mountain there. In the same manner, I may know that you are Christians in that island, but nothing more."

"What, man!" said Duncan, "ha' you never heard o' the Solemn League and Covenant?"—"I have heard," said the captain, "of many leagues and covenants. In the time of Henry IV. in France there was called the League. The family of Guise was at the head of it, and opposed to the Protestants. It is probably a branch that has extended into Scotland, and kept up the name, after the league had been broken by that heroic prince, and afterwards taken away altogether by his conversion to the mother church, and peaceable possession of the kingdom."

"By that, ye wad make out the Covenanters to be a relic o' popery," said Duncan. "I ken ye right weel, captain: ye canna be sae ignorant as not to know that the Covenanters are the very reverse of popery. Did ye never read Crookshanks? Did you never hear o' the persecution?"

"I have heard of the ten persecutions under the Roman emperors," said the captain.

"Under ten deevils," said Duncan. "I am speaking o' the persecutions in Scotland, when the ministers were hanged at Ayr."

The captain saw that his valet was beginning to be warm on the score of religion; and that it would be difficult to continue the conversation in any shape without giving him offence. He was therefore disposed to address his pride, and please him by an acknowledgment of ignorance; at the same time proposing a readiness to be instructed in the peculiar tenets of the faith of the Covenanters.

"Duncan," said he, "you are under a mistake as to the opportunities of education in this country. It is not as in Scotland, where the Christian religion has been planted for above a thousand years, and the reformed church established a century or two; where clergymen are numerous, and religious books plenty."

"Aye," said Duncan, "where ye have preaching amaist every day o' the week, and twice on the Sabbath. Ye canna set your face any way, but ye hae a kirk before you. Catechising o' the children begins almost as soon as they are born; and examining the grown people, in visits at the house, wie a strict discipline that calls to the sessions for things that scandalize the morals. Ye sal find many guid bukes there published by the Erskines, and the Gillisses. Did you ever read Peden's Prophecies?"

"I have read nothing of the kind," said the captain; "for I was observing to you, that in America we have not these opportunities. For my own part, I have lived a good deal in the route of clerical functionaries, where they have passed and repassed, and have heard their sermons, and conversed with them; and though they have been distinguished amongst themselves as orthodox, or heterodox; or under several names, or by various particulars of doctrine; yet the differences appeared so minute, that I never thought it worth while to trace them; and they made themselves acceptable to me, less or more, by the greater harmony of voice, or elegance of language, or gesture; or by the justness of their observations on the obligations of morality among men, and the good consequences to society and to the individual; and at the same time inculcating sound spiritual doctrines, avoiding those subtilties which are in my opinion more curious than useful, even to those who have intellects sufficiently acute to understand them."

"Have ye read Willison on the Catechism, or Halyburton, or Boston's Fourfold State, or Durham on the Revelation?" said Duncan.

"Nothing of all these," said the captain.

Said Duncan, "I hae got the Confession o' Faith in my wallet here; I wad lend it to you to get a piece o' it by heart, if ye wad promise to tak guid care o' the buke."

"My memory is not good," said the captain, "especially in that artificial exercise of it which consists in committing abstract ideas. What touches my affections, I remember without trouble, and sentiments which are obvious and natural; and I should think the early mind would be better occupied in reading some instructive fables, than in committing to memory those dogmas of divinity, that are unintelligible to any but theologists themselves; nay, not even by them incontrovertibly; for, otherwise, how should they differ so much in their illustrations of them? However, I have no inclination to be led into a debate with you, Duncan, on a subject where you are so much my superior. But you will excuse me as to committing the Confession of Faith to memory; at my age it is painful to apply to a thing as to a task."

Duncan acknowledged the truth of this, and was disposed to excuse him; but recommended him to read the sermons of the reverend John Dick and Saunders M'Alpin.

CHAPTER X.

The captain puts up at an inn, where a serious dispute takes place on the subject of religion between Duncan and a reprobate.

HAVING travelled this day without any remarkable occurrence, and putting up at an inn in the evening, Duncan had taken care of the horse, in having him well rubbed down, and having seen his oats given him, and the rack well filled with hay. A gentleman had also that evening put up at the inn, and whose servant had been engaged at the same time with Duncan in taking care of his respective master's horse.

This valet, whether from reading that mischievous work, Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, which had been published about this time, or to the sceptical conversation of some one in his way, was far from being orthodox in his notions of religion; or rather was sceptical with regard to religion altogether: and had not been accustomed to the strictest propriety in the choice of his expressions; which became apparent, in a short time, from his use of suppletives that are common with profane men, when they would enforce what they have asserted; or when prompted by passion, they are carried beyond the bounds of decorum, in imprecations on themselves or the incidental cause of their injury. Religious scepticism in men of a speculative or philosophical turn of mind, is often combined with sound morals; but when we meet with it in a clown, we usually find wickedness predominant, with some feeble ray of morality, perhaps received in early childhood from a pious mother. The reflections of the wise lead to the certain conclusion that integrity is the surest road even to worldly wealth, and that virtue is the only foundation for happiness. The clown thinks only of the present gratification. But, to return whence we digressed: whether the horse had not maintained a proper position in currying him, or that the valet thought he did not, is uncertain; but so it was, that in the course of his labour, he broke out into occasional sallies of ill humour; or perhaps from mere habit, and without any cause at all, he began to damn the soul of the beast. Duncan could not avoid taking notice of it, and reprimanding him for his profanity. The other gave him no other thanks than to damn his soul also; which language began to raise the blood of Duncan; but he repressed his resentment for the present, and was silent until they both came to sit down to supper in the kitchen of the public house, the gentlemen above having already supped, when Roderick, for that was the name of the valet, began to eat, not having first said

grace. At this Duncan losing all patience, broke out upon him, "Sirrah," said he, "I could make an excuse for damning the soul o' your beast; because I dinna believe he has a soul, and in that case ye were doing nothing mare than making use o' a bad expression, proving a want o' sense, and bad bringing up; but ha' ye na mare decency, than to fall to your meat without asking a blessing on what is set before you; more than your horse in the stable, when he falls to his oats? what could you expect frae a dumb beast? but with ane o' the shape o' a Christian creature, it savours o' infidelity. Ha ye na sense o' religion? Did ye never see the Confession of Faith; or the larger or shorter Catechism? Are ye na afraid the deevil will get power over ye, and mak ye hang yoursel?"

"The devil!" said Roderick: "What do I care for the devil! I wish I had him here by the horns, or the tail, I'd make him skip like a lamp-lighter."

"Guid deliver us! what blasphemy," said Duncan; "I am afraid, young man, you may get a trial o't; you'll see then wha o' ye will be uppermost. I'll lay my lug for it, ye dinna stand him twa shakes, for a' sae stout as ye are. Ye had better seek the Lord, and be out o' the reach o' Satan."

"I never saw any greater devil than myself," said Roderick; "nor do I believe there is any. I wish I saw this Satan of yours, I would take a knock with him; I would bite and gouge him, and ——————"

This he said, jumping to his feet, stretching out his hands towards Duncan, and grinning at the same time.

Duncan could sustain it no longer; but, making his escape from the kitchen, ran to the chamber where the captain was with the gentleman, taking a glass after supper. Exclaiming with great vehemence, he gave him to understand, "that the muckle deel himsel was in the house below stairs. I did na just see his horns and his cloven foot," said he;

"but I ken him right weel by his way o' talking: when he was i' the stable wie the gentleman's horse, rubbing him down, he cursed and swear'd like a deevil; and when he came to sipper, he could na bide the blessing; but when I spak o' grace, he brake out into profane language; and at last fairly acknowledged that he was the deel himsel. Guid guide us, that we should hae the deevil amang us! I wad na be astonished, if he has the kitchen aff in a flame of fire before we gae to bed yet. I hae 'Satan's Invisible Kingdom Discovered' wie me in my bags. It gies great account o' these things. The like happened at Drumalawrig ance before; and the guid folk had a great deal o' wark to get the muckle thief out o' their sight again."

The captain and gentleman were at a loss to understand this rhapsody; and could only in general collect from it, that he conceived himself to have seen the devil.—"Where is the devil?" said the captain. "Can you show him to us, Duncan?"—"I can soon do that," said Duncan. "I left him i' the kitchen at his meat; but I trow he does not eat muckle. It is a' pretence to pass for ane o' us. But gin ye sing a psalm, or pronounce a verse o' the Bible, or gae about prayer, I sall warrant ye sall soon see him in his proper figure, wi' his horns and his cloven foot, grinning at ye, just as he had come out o' hell about an hour ago."

"Let us see him, Duncan," said the captain, "and examine into these circumstances."

The captain and the gentleman had supposed that some wag among the servants of the public house had been attempting to amuse himself with the credulity of Duncan, having discovered him to be of a superstitious cast of mind; and that with some kind of vizor to the face, and uncouth dress to the person, he had assumed a frightful form, and imposed upon him the idea of a demon. Under this impression they went forward, Duncan, with fear and trembling, lurking behind, and eyeing carefully the scene as they

approached. Entering the kitchen, Duncan started and exclaimed, "The Lord deliver us! There he is eating at his meat, as if he was a creature above ground, though ye may all see he has the physiognomy of Beelzebub."—"Of whom do you speak?" said the captain.—"Of that muckle chiel there," said Duncan, "i' the blue jacket and the lang breeks; that Satan-luking fellow," continued he, "wha puts the bread in his mouth, and sits on a stool, as if he were ane o' oursels; and had na been i' the bottomless pit these twal months. But gin ye speak til him, I sall warrant you sall soon hear him talk the dialect o' hell, and curse and swear like a fiend, and girn like the deel himsel; and show his cloven foot very soon, tak my word for't."

"Why, that is my servant," said the gentleman.

"Ay, ay," said Duncan, "I dinna doubt that; he may hae passed himsel for your servant: but that does na hinder him to be the deel. Dinna ye hear what the apostle says, 'He can transform himself into an angel of light.' It canna be a great trouble, then to tak the shape o' a waiting-man, and sit before a pair of saddle-bags. If ye read 'Satan's Invisible Kingdom Discovered,' which I hae in my portmantles, ye sall find that the deevil can make himsel a minister, and gae into the pulpit, and conduct himsel very weel, aye, till it comes to the prayer, and then aff he gaes through the window, or takes the gavel o' the house wie him. It happened once at Linlithgo, that he tuke the shape o' a guid auld man, the reverend doctor Bunnetin, and undertook to preach the action sermon at a sacrament; but gaid awa in a flight o' fire just as he came to gie out the text. Ah sirrah," said he, addressing himself to Roderick, "are ye there yet? I ken ye weel enough, auld Reeky. Gae back to Scotland, and take the shape o' the muckle dogs there, whare there are guid folks that dinna fear ye; and no come o'er the burn till America, where the gospel is na yet planted, and there is na need for ye."

"What have you been doing to this man," said the gentleman to Roderick, "that he has conceived you to be the devil?"

"Nothing more," said the valet, "than that when we sat down to eat, he insisted on saying prayers first, and talked like a fool about religion. I was hungry, and did not like to wait for prayers. He talked about the deel. I told him I was the devil myself. He took me to be in earnest, I suppose; that is all."

"Aye, and ye are the deel," said Duncan. "Put out your foot here, and let us see if it hae a cloven place i' the middle o't, or be like a Christian's foot; or try if ye can stand till I say the Lord's prayer—though I wad na wish to say it, as I dinna ken but you wad tak the man's house wi' ye, and leave the captain and this gentleman without a chamber to gae to bed in."

"Psha, Duncan," said the captain; "how can such ideas come to your brain? I see nothing but the gentleman's servant. It is the prejudice of your education, to suppose that the devil can take the shape of men, or tangible substance; at least that he can eat food, and converse with a human voice. You will come by and by to have a better sense of things. In the mean time we must excuse your reveries, as you are but a late emigrant. This valet may be indiscreet, or as you would say, profane in his expressions; a thing of which I will venture to say this gentleman, whose waiting-man he is, does by no means approve. Nevertheless, I cannot think he is Apolyon, or Beelzebub, or Satan, or the great arch devil of the infernal regions. I do not even believe that he is one of your inferior devils, that has assumed the shape and function of a valet, and has sat down here to eat his supper in the kitchen."

"I am not one of those," said the gentleman, "that approve of profane language, or the undervaluing of religious professions; on the contrary, although not a professor of it

myself, I make it a point on all occasions to show respect for the Christian religion, and all connected with it. But it would appear to me that this is but an affair of humour on the part of my valet, who by the by is but hired with me as a waiting-man, and I have no control over him, farther than to dismiss him for improper conduct. He is a merry fellow: but I have always found him faithful, and of good temper; so that I will venture to say, that if Duncan, for that I understand is the name of this North Briton, will take supper, and go to bed with him, he will receive no injury whatever."

"I wad na take the whole town o' Perth to sit down wie him," said Duncan; "nor a' the kingdom o' Scotland to sleep wie him ae night. I should expect nothing else but to be i' the lake o' brimstone before the morning."

"It will do you no harm," said Roderick, with an oath. "It was only a piece of fun, when I saw you take it as if it was in earnest."

"Do you hear him," said Duncan; "would any body but the deel acknowledge himsel willing to be damn'd, or talk about it in sae light a manner? He confirms by ae breath, what he denies by the other. He is the deel, as sure as ever Mitchel Scot was in Scotland; or if he is na the deel, he is as bad as the deel, and it gaes against the grain wi' me to hae ony communication wi' him. Let him gae to hell for me by himsel. He sall nae hae my company. I wad na trust but that he wad hae an hundred witches here about the house, before the morning, and put every one o' us on a broomstick to ride along wi' him, taking the taps aff the trees, and dinging doon houses as he gaes along; the auld women turning themselves into cats, as they like, or taking the shape o' hares, or soomin o'er rivers i' their egg-shells."

The captain finding that it was in vain to attempt by direct means to overcome the force of prejudice, changed his language, and affected to suppose that the valet might be the

devil, and proposed to examine the extremity of both limbs, to see whether he had a cloven foot. The valet submitting to the jest, agreed to be examined. His boots and stockings, therefore, being stripped off, his feet were examined, and no fissure appeared more than in a common foot. "Now," said the captain, "if he can stand the recital of a prayer, will you not acknowledge that he may be a human person?"—"Ay, if 't were a minister," said Duncan; "but I dinna ken if the prayer o' a layman can affect him much. But it does na matter muckle, whether he is the deel or not; he is amaist as bad the deel, as you may distinguish by his conversation, and I dinna care to ha muckle more to do wie him."

"That is, devil or no devil," said the captain, "you will neither eat nor sleep with him."

"Just the short and the long o' it," said Duncan. "I will tak a bit o' bread and beef in my hand, and creep into some nuke by mysel, if it should be i' the stable with the horses, rather than wie this wicked creature, that if he is not Satan, has a great resemblance o' him."

With this, the captain and the gentleman left them to themselves, and returned to the chamber.

CHAPTER XI.

The captain and the new squire continue on their way—A conversation between them on the comparative merits of Scotland and America—They overtake O'Regan, and of what took place thereupon.

In the morning it appeared that Duncan had sat up the greater part of the night, with a candle burning by him in the kitchen, until near day-light; when overcome with sleep he had reclined upon a bench, until the gentleman and his

valet had departed, and the captain had got up, which was about an hour after sunrise. Having breakfasted, they set out upon their travels, conversing as they went along upon subjects that occurred. The first topic was a comparison of Scotland with this country; in what particulars each had the advantage of the other. Duncan gave a decided preference in all things to the transatlantic region; and found nothing on this continent that could encounter the smallest competition.

"I should presume," said the captain, "we have more timber in this country than in yours."—"You may have more, but not half sae guid," said Duncan. "Our fir is far better than the oak that ye find here."

"I will allow you the advantage in one particular," said the captain; "you are more closely settled, and the soil of course must be under a more general cultivation."—"Aye, but that is nathing," said Duncan; "it is settled wi' a better stock o' people; and we hae dukes and lairds amang us; no as it is here, where ye may gae a day's journey, and no hear of a piper at a great house, or see a castle; but a' the folks, and their habitations, looking just for a' the warld like our cotters in Scotland."—"But," said the captain, "what do you think of the works of nature here, the sun and moon for instance."—"The sun is a very guid sun," said Duncan; "but he has o'er muckle heat in the middle o' the day. I wad like him better if he wad draw in a little o' it at this season, and let it out i' the winter, when we shall hae more need o' it."—"But as to the moon, Duncan," said the captain, "you have seen it since you came in; do you think it as large as the moon in Scotland?"—"I dinna ken," quoth Duncan, "but it is amaist as large; but it changes far aftener, and it is no sae long at the full as it is in our kintra."—"But what think you of the stars, Duncan? You have taken notice of them, I presume, in this hemisphere."—"The stars dinna differ muckle frae the stars at hame,"

quoth Duncan; "save that there are not sae many o' them. Wi' us, the firmament is a' clad wi' them, like brass buttons; they light it up just like candles. But here they look blaite, and hae a watery appearance in the night, as if they had got the fever and ague o' the climate, and were sickly, and had nae strength to put forth their fire. I tell you, captain, there is nathing here equal to what it is in Scotland. How could you expect it; this is but a young kintra. It will be a long time before it comes to sik perfection as wi' us; and I dinna ken if it ever does."

"How comes it to pass, Duncan," said the captain, "that the devil chooses the women of your country, in preference to any other, to make witches of? For it would seem to be the case; as I have heard more of Scotch witches, than English or American."

"I can gie a good reason for that," said Duncan. "The deel kens weel enough where to find the best materials. The English women are no worth making witches o'; they could do him little guid when he had them. Ane Scotch witch is worth a dozen English or American. They can loup farther, and sink a ship in half the time."

The captain having made this experiment of the national partiality of Duncan, was satisfied; and turned the conversation to another subject.

I shall not stop to record the minute incidents that took place in the course of this day's travel; or that of the two following days; or relate the particulars of the conversation of the captain with Duncan, or of Duncan with any other person. What I have related was chiefly with a view to give some idea of the new valet's character and manners.

I think it was the fourth day after leaving the city, that the captain, casting up his eyes at a place where there was a considerable length of straight road before him, saw a person trudging on foot, who by his make and gait, appeared to him to resemble the new revenue officer, the quondam

bog-trotter.—"Duncan," said the captain, "if that man was not on foot, that is before us, I should take him for Teague O'Regan, the waiting-man that was in my service, and who gave place to you; having obtained a commission in the revenue, and become an excise officer. But as I had equipped him with a horse, it is not probable that he could be without one already, and have taken to his trotters, after being advanced to be a limb of the government. It would be a degradation to the dignity of office."

"I dinna think," quoth Duncan, "there is muckle dignity in the office. What is he but a gauger? that is o' na more estimation in our kintra than a hangman. There is na ane that can live in an honest way without it, will tak the commission."

"Duncan," said the captain, "it is not so in this country, where the government is a republic; and all taxes being laid by the people, the collection of every species is a sacred duty, and equally honourable."

"Honour!" quoth Duncan. "Do you talk o' honour in a gauger? If that be the way of thinking in this kintra, I wish I were back in Scotland. Every thing seems to be *orsa versa* here; the wrang side uppermost. I am but a simple waiting-man to a gentleman like yoursel, and I wad na take the office o' gauger upon me, for a' Philadelphia, which is amaist as big as Perth."

By this time they were within a small distance of the traveller, whom the captain reconnoitering more perfectly, discovered absolutely to be Teague. The revenue officer, turning round, recognised the captain, and accosted him:—"By my soul, there he is, his honour himself; de captain and a new sarvant dat he has trotting on foot as I myself used to do."—"And as you seem to do yet, Teague," said the captain. "What has become of your horse I furnished you? Has he been stolen, or has he strayed away from the pasture in the course of your progress?"

"In troth," said the officer, "neider de one nor de oder of dese happened; but I met wid a good affer on de road, and took it. I swaped him for a watch dat I have in my pocket here. Bless de sweet little soul of it: It tells de hour of de day, and what time of de clock it is, slaping or waking; and in de night time you have but just to look at de face of it; and de sweet pretty figures dat are dere, and you will know how long it is before de morning come. Not like de dumb baste, that could not answer you a word in de night nor in de day; but hold his tongue like a shape, and say noting; while dis little watch, as dey call it, can spake like a Christian cratur, and keep company like a living person. It was for dat rason dat I took it from a countryman dat I met wid last night at de tavern; and am now going on by myself, and have no horse to take care of, and plague me on the road, and give me falls over his tail, and over his mane, up hill and down hill, so dat I almost broke my neck, and thought it safest to ride upon my foot. Dat is truth, master captain. But what spalpeen is dat you have wid you trotting in my place? Does he take good care of your cratur at night, and clane your boots? I would be after bidding him smell dis cudgel here dat I walk wid, if he neglect a good master, as your honour is."

The blood of Duncan was up at the idea of being cudgelled by an excise officer; and stepping up to Teague, he lifted a cudgel on his part. "Ye cudgel me, sirrah!" said the Caledonian. "If it was na for his honour's presence, I wad lay this rung on your hurdies; or gie ye a rap upon the crown; to talk sik language to your betters. I should make you ken what it is to raise the blood o' a Scotchman. You ca' yoursel a revenue officer. But what is that but a ganger? which is the next to a hangman in our kintra. Captain, will ye stand by and see fair play, till I gie him his paikes for his impertinence? My lug for it, I sall make this rung rattle about the banes o' his head to some tune."

With that, Duncan was making his advance, having raised his cudgel, and putting himself in the attitude of a person accustomed to the back sword; which Teague on the other hand observing, accosted him with softer words; not disposed to risk an engagement with an unknown adversary. "Love your soul," said he, "if I was after affronting you more dan his anour my master; burn me, if I don't love you, just because you are my master's sarvant, or waiter, and takes care of his baste. I was only joking. It is just de way I would spake to my own dear cousin Dermot, if he were here; for in Ireland we always spake backwards. Put up your stick, dear honey, I am sure de captain knows dat I was always good-natured, and not given to quarrels; though I could fight a good stick too upon a pinch: but it never came into my head to wrangle with my master's waiter, especially such a tight good-looking fellow as yourself, dat has a good shelelah in your hand, and is fitter to bate dan to be baten, dear honey."

"Duncan," said the captain, "you have heard the explanation of the hasty words the revenue officer at first used; and it would seem to me, that, consistently with the reputation of courage, and good breeding both, you ought to be satisfied."

"I dinna ken," quoth Duncan; "it was a very great provocation to talk o' cudgelling; and it may be the custom o' a friendly salutation in Ireland, but no in our kintra. While I hae a drop o' the same bluid in my veins as St. Andrew, I wad na gae up to sik civilities."

Said the captain, "as far as I can have understood, St. Patrick and St. Andrew were cousins, and you his descendants or disciples ought to be on terms of amity."

"St. Andrew a cousin to St. Patrick!" said Duncan. "I canna acknowledge that, captain. St. Andrew was a guid protestant, and a covenanter, but St. Patrick was a papist, o' the kirk o' Rome; and did na keep the second command-

ment, but wórshipped graven images, and pictures o' saints; and tuke the sacrament wie a wafer. I shall never gie up that captain, that St. Patrick was o' kin to St. Andrew. They might be i' the ministry at the same time; but there is a great difference in their doctrine. Did ye e'er read any o' the works o' John Knox, captain? Dinna ye ken, that the church o' Rome is the whore o' Babylon? If ye had lived in the time o' the persecution, ye wad na hae compared a Scotch saint wie an Irish priest."

Said the captain, "I have no particular acquaintance with the distinguishing tenets of the two Evangelists; nor do I know any thing of them, save just to have understood that the one had planted Christianity in Scotland, and the other in Ireland. But this is not a point so material to us individually, as that we cultivate peace and have no difference. I must therefore enjoin it on you, Duncan, that you drop your stick, and keep the peace towards the revenue officer on the high way, that he may not be delayed in going forward to enter on the functions of his office."

Said Duncan, "since your honour says the word, I shall lay down my stick, for I ken the law better than to stand out against the civil authority."

"But Teague," said the captain, "how can you distinguish the figures of your watch, so as to tell the hours of the day; you that do not understand figures?"

"In troth, now," said Teague, "and I never tought of dat. Will not de figures spake for demselves, when I look at dem? I am sure, I saw de spalpeen dat I got her from, look at her, and tell de hour of de day, like a pracher at his books; and I am sure and sarten, dat such an ill-looking teef as he could neider read nor write. On my soul, if dat is de way, I have to read de marks myself, I will swap her back for a horse or a cow, on de road; or for someting else, dat will plase your anour better; so dere is no harm done, plase your anour, while we are in a Christian coun-

try, and can meet wid good paple to spake to, and take a watch or a colt off our hands, when we mane to part wid it, plase your anour."

Such was the conversation at the first interview of the captain's family, to use a military style; and may be considered as a sample of that which took place in the sequel of this day's travel, as they proceeded together until noon; when they came to dine at a public house, and umbrage was taken by Duncan, because the captain had permitted Teague to sit at table with himself; which he did in respect to the office which he held, and in order to respect its dignity.—"Captain," said Duncan, coming to the hall-door, and looking in, "d'ye permit an excise officer to sit at the table wie your honour? Sik profanation I never heard o' in a' my born days; if it were in Scotland, it wad cause a sight to the whole neighbourhood. Does your honour ken that he is an excise officer?"

"Duncan," said the captain, "it is a principle of good citizenship, especially in a republican government, to pay respect to the laws, and maintain the honour of its officers. It is for this reason, that I make it a point to honour one who was lately my bog-trotter; not that I discern in him any remarkable improvement in talents or manners; but simply because the government has discovered something; and has seen fit to give him a commission in the revenue. Who knows but it may be your own fortune, at no distant day to obtain an office, and will you not think it reasonable then, that it should be forgotten that you were once in the capacity of a waiting-man; and that you should receive the respect and the precedence due to your new dignity? it is not with us as in monarchies, where the advance is gradual in most cases; though even there, an individual through the favour of the prince, or of the queen, or of a lady or gentleman of the court, may have a sudden promotion: but in a free state, what hinders that the lowest of the people

should be taken up, and made magistrates, or put into commissions in the revenue? I must insist, Duncan, that you retire to the kitchen, and take your dinner, and make no disturbance in the house at this time; you will come to understand better the nature of offices in these commonwealths in due time."—Duncan retired; but in soliloquy expressing his chagrin, at the strange reversion of affairs in America, from what they were in Scotland, and his mortification at finding himself in the service of a master, that could degrade himself by dining with an excise officer.

Teague, on the other hand, though he was silent in the hearing of Duncan, broke out as soon as he had shut the door; "captain," said he, "plase your anour, where did you pick up dat ill-looking baste, dat has no more manners dan a shape-stealer in Ireland? By Saint Patrick, if your anour had given me leave in de road, I would have knocked his teet down his troat; and if your anour will excuse de table, I will go out and take him by de troat, and make him talk to himself like a frog in de wet swamps; bad luck to him to spake so to your anour, wid his own ugly mouth, and de brogue on his tongue."

"Teague," said the captain, "the prejudices of education must be tolerated, until time and experience of the world, has lessened or removed them. He is an honest fellow, and I have more confidence in him, than I ever had in you, though his talents have not appeared equal; at least if I am to judge from the estimate made of you, by those who have a better right to judge than I have. However, I am unwilling to have any disturbance between you, and therefore must insist that you leave him to the reprimands which I myself have occassionally given him, and shall continue to give him, until he attains a better knowledge of the nature of things in this new hemisphere, so different from those to which he has been accustomed."

This put an end to any altercation between the two, the

revenue officer and the waiting-man, for the remaining part of that day, as they trudged together until they came to the inn at night, and having supped were about to go to bed. It was what in some places is called an ordinary; that is, an indifferent tavern, of but mean accommodations. The house was small, and there were but two beds for the reception of strangers; one of these so indifferent, as to appear fit only for the servant of a gentleman, who might happen to travel the road, though large enough to contain two or three persons. What it wanted in quality of neatness, and perhaps cleanliness, was made up in dimensions. This bed therefore seemed naturally to invite the reception of two of the company.

"Teague," said the captain, when about to go to bed, "I think, Duncan and you, being the younger men, may pig in together in that large bed, and leave the other to me who am an older man, and am apt to tumble and toss a little from weariness in my ride; and may perhaps disturb you in your sleep."

"Guid deliver me," said Duncan, "frae sik a profanation o' the name of Ferguson, as to sleep wi' an excise officer. I am na o' a great family, but am come o' a guid family; and it shall never be said that I came to America to disgrace my lineage, by sik contact as that. Gae to bed wi' an excise officer! I wad sooner gae to bed out o' doors; or i' the stable amang the horses."

"De devil burn me," said Teague, in his turn, "if I will be after slaping wid you, you teef luking vagabone, wid de itch upon your back; I am sure all your country has de itch; and keep scratching and scratching, as if dey were in hell, and could get brimstone for noding."

"The youke!" said Duncan, "Do you impeach me wi' the youke?"

"You impatche yourself," said the revenue officer. "Did not I see you scratching, as you came along de road;

and do you tink, you teef, dat I wish to get de leprosy, or de scurvy, and have to slape in a bag of brimstone two or tree weeks, before I be fit to travel wid his anour de captain again ?"

"The deel damn me," said Duncan, "if I can bear that."

"What, swear, Duncan?" said the captain, "or curse rather, you that are a Covenanter, and have religious books in your wallet, the Confession of Faith and the Catechism!"

"How can I help it, man," said Duncan. "The deel rive his saul, but I maun be at him."

Duncan had by this time seized his walking staff, and put himself in an attitude to attack his adversary, who on the other hand had, instinctively, ensconced himself behind the captain, and opposed him as a rampart to the fury of the Scot.

"Duncan," said the captain, "you are in the wrong on this occasion; you gave the affront, and ought to excuse the revenue officer for what he has said, which, by the by, was not justifiable on any other ground but that of provocation. For national reflections are at all times reprehensible. But in order to compose this matter, and that we have no further disturbance, I will take the large, though more humble bed myself, and sleep with the excise officer, for the reputation of the government who has thought proper to appoint him to this trust."

"The deel tak me if ye shall do that, captain," said Duncan; "I wad rather tak the stain upon mysel, than let my liege be disgraced; for it wad come a' to the same thing in the end, that I had been the waiting man o' ane that had been the bed-fellow of a gauger. O! guid keep us, how that wad sound in Scotland. What wad my relation Willy Ferguson, that is a professor i' the high college o' E'nburg, say to that? But rather than your honour should tak the stain upon you, I shall put up wi' it for a night; though if the landlady has a pickle strae, and a blanket,

I wad rather lie by the fireside, than contaminate mysel, bedding wi' sik a bog-trotter loon as he is, that wad gae into sik an office for the sake o' filthy lucre, and to mak a living; when there are many honest means to get a support other ways."

The landlady gave it to be understood that she could furnish with a bag of straw and a blanket.

This adjusted the difficulty, and saved the delicacy of the Scotchman, and embarrassment of the captain, in keeping peace between the bog-trotters; as in reality they both were, though the one had obtained a commission, and the other remained a private person.

CHAPTER XII.

Being the shortest chapter in this work, and not the most important.

MANY of the causes of important political incidents in this country are to be traced to prejudices existing while the subjects of Britain, and which such people occasionally bring with them across the ocean. The dislike to excise laws is of foreign origin. This prejudice was, in a great measure, the cause of that opposition to the excise laws of the United States, which terminated in the late insurrection. The western parts of Pennsylvania, where this insurrection took place, are peopled, chiefly by emigrants from Scotland, and the north of Ireland, where a colony of Scotch were planted by King James I. and which have been denominated the Scotch Irish. At the same time it was unequal to that frontier country, which had turned its attention to the manufacture of spirits from their grain, as in this manufacture, the produce of their fields could more easily be carried to market. In this view of the subject, the reasonings of the

more intelligent fell in with the prejudices of the vulgar. The embarrassing the administration, was also a motive with men of political ambition, and who were in opposition to the administration of that day. An idea of subverting the government never existed in the mind of any one; yet it comes to the same thing, if the government is subverted, whether it was intended or not. And this is a lesson to the people of a republic, that it is better to suffer a *local evil*, than to endanger the safety of the commonwealth by opposition. It is an easy thing to excite opposition, but difficult to arrest it at a proper point. The bulk of the people do not distinguish the boundary between constitutional opposition and unlawful violence.

It requires some experience of liberty to know how to use it. The unenlightened multitude are slaves, or tyrants. The great thing is to preserve a medium between democratic violence, and passive obedience to oppression. These are the two extremes, which are to be avoided. Education, and the diffusion of correct information, and just principles, constitute the only remedy. We cannot expect any thing but a chance government, where it is founded on votes directed by chance, or, what is worse, proceeding from envy on the part of the indigent of those who are better off. Where there is a proportion of the people, as always is the case, without property, and who have nothing to lose, nothing is risked by a revolution, and therefore commotions are not dreaded by them; and if reform is set on foot, it is pushed by such beyond what is salutary to a revolution, which may end in anarchy. By this, liberty is lost; and the people blame the despotism which they themselves have made.

CHAPTER XIII.

O'Regan is sent ahead to avoid the bickerings between him and Duncan—A day passed at an inn—The captain visits a cave, in which some very marvellous discoveries are made.

In the course of the three following days, during which the captain and the two bog-trotters journeyed together, much ill-will showed itself between the understrappers. By the by, I ask pardon, before I go farther, of the government for thus confounding the revenue officer with the present waiting-man; but I aver, that it is not owing to any disrespect of the government, though it may have that appearance; but is to be resolved simply into the force of habit which I acquired in designating O'Regan in the early part of this narrative, before he was advanced to office; and since that, to the impression made upon my mind occasionally by his conduct, which has not entirely corresponded with the dignity of the commission. When instances occur of this nature, I fall involuntary into the use of the former epithet, which reflection, doubtless, would teach me to discard. This is my apology; and if it should be attributed to any secret grudge or dislike of public measures, or persons at the head of our affairs, it will be a great injustice. But, as I was saying, in the course of the following days, much bickering took place between the Hibernian and the Scotchman; or, as I might otherwise express myself, between the son of St. Andrew and St. Patrick. The Scot thought the Hibernian defective in grace and manners; both because he did not ask a blessing to his food, and because he took the liberty to eat with the captain, and to converse with him as on equal terms. Indeed it was the only fault he found with the captain himself, that he did not say grace to meat, and that he admitted the gauger to this enjoyment

of equality. He did not enter fully into the necessary policy of observing the forms of respect to officers of government, merely for the sake of the authority, and as a compliment to the laws themselves. Nor was his knowledge of the human mind, and the modes of acting sufficient to inform him, that the saying grace at victuals is a matter of form, more than of faith; and that for this reason, some Christian sects, particularly the people called Quakers, omit it altogether.

The Hibernian would sometimes beat off, to use a nautical phrase, and disarm his adversary by expressions of benevolence, as "Love your soul," &c.; sometimes he would prepare for battle, and be disposed to defend himself; on which occasions it behooved the captain to interfere, and break off the contest.

The captain, at length, weary of this trouble, thought of the expedient of dismissing the revenue officer a day or two ahead, in order that he might be apart from the other bog-trotter. This being done, with exhortation that he would go forward speedily, and open an office in the district, the captain proposed to remain a day at the public house where he then was, in order to give the revenue officer the advantage of the start I have mentioned. In the meantime, hearing of a cave in the neighbourhood, which was thought to be a great curiosity, he took the opportunity of visiting it. The guide led them to it; I mean the captain and his waiting-man, in about an hour's walk from the public house. It was on the bank of a small river; the mouth of the cave opening to the bank. A small stream issued from the cave, and fell into the river, with a fall of a few feet over a rock, rendered smooth by the current of the water. Above this, was a shade of spreading beech, with thick foliage, and beneath, towards the strand of the river, was a gradual descent with washed pebbles, and a clear filtrating sand. Hard by the fall of this water, and on the strand of the river, the at-

tention of the captain was attracted by certain rude sculptures, observable on a flat rock; and also by others on a perpendicular one that composed a part of the bank. There was the figure of the terrapin, the bear, the turkey, &c. It was a subject of reflection with the captain, whether these impressions had been made by the animals themselves, while the rock had been in a plastic state, and before it had hardened from clay into stone; or whether it was the work of the savages, before the Europeans had possession of the country. He lamented that he had not a philosopher at hand, to determine this. On the bank above, and towards the mouth of the cave, were a number of petrifactions to be found; the water that ran here, appearing hence to have a petrifying quality. The captain considering these, was thinking with himself how good a school this would have been for Teague, had he been admitted a member of the Philosophical Society, as had been proposed at an early period.

The mouth of the cave was of a height and width to receive a man walking upright, and without constraint, on his entrance. After a passage of a few yards, lined with the solid rocks, it opened into an apartment of about eighteen feet cube. The oozing from above formed the stalactites, and would probably, in the course of a century or two, fill up this chamber altogether, unless by digging above, the course of the water could be diverted from the roof, and carried off by a conduit on a solid part of the mountain. The floor of the chamber had been raised by the petrifaction of the water; as appeared from the inequality of surface, formed by the stalactites, and from the testimony of the guide, who remembered the time, not more than fifteen years ago, when the descent to this apartment, was a step of at least a foot from the level of the entrance.

Passing on a few yards more, they descended a step, and came to a second apartment, of a greater extent, and of not less than an hundred feet to the level vault. Here was a

vast bed of human skeletons petrified, but distinguishable by their forms. No doubt it had been a repository of savage chiefs, whose bodies, converted into stone by the virtue of this water, were preserved more durably than the mummies of Egypt. The dimensions of some of the skeletons bespoke them giants; that of one measured eight feet, wanting an inch.—"Duncan," said the captain, "I doubt much whether there have been larger giants in Scotland."—"Aye have there—half as large again," said Duncan; "from the stones that are put up in some castles, there must have been men at least eighteen or twenty feet in height."—"What can have become of this breed?" said the captain. "They have fought wi' ane another, 'till they are a' dead," said Duncan. This was the easiest way of accounting for the loss.

There was an ascent of a step or two to the next apartment, which was of an oval form, the conjugate diameter of which was about thirty feet, and the transverse about twenty-five. There were the bows and arrows, all petrified, that these warriors had used in life. The water descended not in drops, but through the fine pores of the rock in a gentle dew, and with an impression of extreme cold, so as to endanger life, and probably convert the human body into stone in a very short space of time. The guide thought it not advisable to remain long, and Duncan was anxious to return; the forms of the dead in the chamber behind him leading him to apprehend, that some of their shades might come after them, to inquire the occasion of their visit.

Regaining the entrance of the cave, and emerging into light—I mean the light of day, for they had entered with torches—they left the place, and returned to the tavern.

The day following, they paid another visit to the cave, and observed in the chamber of bows and arrows, a pool of limpid water, into which looking, they discovered arrow heads and hatchets of stone innumerable. They took out, and brought away some of them. These had no doubt been

"The day following they paid another visit to the cave, and discovered in the chamber of bows and arrows, a pool of limpid water, into which looking, they discovered arrow heads and hatchets of stone innumerable."

first formed in wood, and then put in this water to petrify, and become fit for use. Thus we easily account for the formation of such implements; whereas the idea of being formed out of a stone, in the first instance, by the dint of human labour, and with no other instruments than stone itself, involves great difficulty. This discovery, the captain, I presume, lost no time in communicating to the Philosophical Society, as will in due time appear, from a publication of their transactions.

Near the entrance, and on the right, was the passage to what is called the petrified grove. This, on their return, they entered, and in about thirty steps found themselves in a spacious square, which appeared to have been once the surface of the earth: for here were trees in their natural position, with wasps nests on them, all petrified; and buffaloes standing under, in their proper form, but as hard as adamant. A bleak wind, with a petrifying dew, had arrested them in life, and fixed them to the spot; while the mountain, in a series of ages, had grown over them. That which struck the captain most, was an Indian man reduced to stone, with a bundle of peltry on his back. If the virtuosi of Italy could have access to this vault, there would be danger of their robbing it of some of these figures, in order to compare with the statues that have been made by hands. When this cave shall have gained due celebrity, there is no question but that attempts of this nature will be made. I submit, therefore, whether it would not be advisable for the connoisseurs of America to apply to the legislature of the state where the cave is, to prevent such exportation.

The captain, leaving this place, took nothing with him but the skin of a wild cat, which hung upon a stone peg in the side of the grotto, and which he broke off, by giving it a sudden jerk as he turned round. Duncan took a petrified turtle, which he thought resembled a highland bonnet, and said he would scrape it out, and send it for a curiosity to Perth.

CHAPTER XIV.

In which the author treats the reader with a profound disquisition on Indian antiquities.

It may be observed, that as I advance in my book, I make fewer chapters, by way of commentary, and occupy myself chiefly with the narrative. It is the characteristic of old age, and may be decorous towards the conclusion of the work. Nevertheless, I shall arrest myself here a little, to reflect on one particular of the discoveries of the captain; the sculpture on the rocks, which appeared to be the labour of the aborigines of this country. I have not seen these sculptures, for I have not had an opportunity of visiting this cave; but I have seen similar sculptures, in abundance, on the west of the Allegheny mountains. I recollect at an early period to have heard it said, that Ferdinando Soto had been on the Ohio waters, and as high as the mouth of the great Kenaway; and to have heard it given as a proof of this, that in a particular place near the mouth of that river, the imperial eagle was to be seen engraven on a rock; the eagle which was the ensign of the Spanish monarchy, under Charles V., also emperor of Germany, and the successor of the Cæsars. It was added, on the same ground, that the vestiges of fortifications discoverable in this country, were the remains of Spanish works, and encamping grounds under Soto. I had understood, that the great Franklin had adopted this hypothesis with regard to these forts, from the sculpture of the eagle. In the winter of the year 1787, I had the happiness to converse with that sage, and amongst a number of questions, which I had the curiosity, and perhaps impertinence, to ask, I put this with regard to the Kenaway sculpture, and the theory of the vestiges of forts in the western country. I found his ideas to be as I had been informed, and have stated. I was then in Philadelphia.

In the fall of this year, having returned to the western country, a surveyor who had been engaged in surveying land on the Kenaway, being in my office on some business, it occurred to me to interrogate him on the subject of the sculpture. He had seen the engraving of what was thought to be the eagle, but called it a turkey; which word no sooner struck my ear, than all the hypothesis of the holy Roman eagle, and Ferdinando Soto, fell to the ground. It is a turkey, thought I, which the fancy of the virtuoso and antiquarian, has converted into the king of birds.

Conversing with the surveyor, he gave me an account more minutely of this, and other figures cut upon the rock, viz., the turkey with its wings spread as if just alighting; the deer with his branching horns; and the savage himself, with a large head and long limbs, rudely cut. He added, that he had heard from a hunter whom he well knew, that there was a rock with similar engravings on Cheat river, a small distance above where it falls into the Monongahela; and promised to bring this hunter to give me a description.

About a month afterwards, the surveyor brought the hunter to me, who appeared to have been observant, and to be intelligent. He had seen the rocks near the mouth of Cheat river. The following is the memorandum that I took from him.

"The turkey appears to have alighted at the lower part of the rock, and ran up to the top. You see the track which it leaves; the stretched back, as the body is thrown forward, as between flying and running. There is a figure of a man, with a large head, and horns, and a thin skeleton-like body. There are deer-track well cut. The rock stands on a bend of the river; and the figures on the lower end, which projects most, are defaced by the water, which rises to this height in the time of floods. There is a horse track. This is the only thing that I think remarkable, if it is a horse track; for, as I do not know that there were any horses

here, before the European settlements, it would argue that this engraving had been done since, and by the natives who have come from the Chesapeake, and had seen horses. The settlement made by Captain Smith at the mouth of James river, Virginia, was, I believe, the earliest made contiguous to this country."

This hunter gave me to understand, that he had seen a rock, sculptured in like manner, on the Kenaway, about eighty miles from its mouth; that is in a line directly west from the rocks on Cheat river.

Having been led into the way of inquiring on this subject, I have found that these engravings are very common throughout the whole western country; that they are discernible all along the Ohio, at low water especially, when the horizontal rocks are left bare; that they are found on the margins of the streams also.

I had heard of one of these on the Monongahela, about forty miles above Pittsburgh, and in the summer of 1793, crossing the country near that place, I spent a part of a day in going out of my course to observe it. The sculptures were of the same kind, and answer the description before given of those elsewhere. The figures on this are, a bear rudely or rather clumsily cut; a hawk flying with a snake in its beak; the moon and the seven stars; a raccoon; a human arm, and human feet, well done; a buck with branching horns; the turkey; and a number of others. I want no other proofs that these sculptures were by the natives, than the form of the feet, which are unquestionably Indian; the narrowness, and smallness of the heel evinces this. It might also be induced as a presumption, that there are vestiges of a fortification, such as has been mentioned, just above on the hill. For it is reasonable to suppose, that these works of leisure and taste, were most likely to be pursued in the neighbourhood of such a work. But what has been at all times conclusive with me, that these engravings are

works of the natives, is the circumstance that no alphabetic mark of any language, or Roman or Arabic numeral, is found amongst any of these. For it is well known, that it is a thing which would occur to any European, who should amuse himself in this manner, to impress the initials at least of his name, and the digits of the year. I had put this question to the surveyor and hunter, of whom I have made mention, with regard to letters and numeral marks, and found that none had been observed by them on the rocks which they had seen. On that ground, independent of all others, I made the deduction I have stated.

I consider these sculptures as the first rude essays of the fine art of engraving; and to have been the work of savages of taste distinguished from the common mass, by a talent to imitate in wood or stone, the forms of things in nature, and a capacity of receiving pleasure from such an application of the mental powers. Whilst a chief of genius was waiting for the assembling of other chiefs, to hold a council; or while the warrior was waiting at a certain point for others, that were to meet him, he may have amused himself in this manner; or it may have been the means to cheat weariness, and solace the intellectual faculty, when there was no counselling in the nation, or wars to carry on.

Happy savage, that could thus amuse himself, and exercise his first pre-eminence over animals we call beasts. They can hunt, and devour living things for food; but where do you find a wolf, or a fishing-hawk, that has any idea of these abstract pleasures, that feed the imagination? Why is it that I am proud, and value myself amongst my own species? It is because I think I possess, in some degree, the ~~distinguishing~~ characteristic of a man, a taste for the ~~fine arts~~; a taste and characteristic too little valued in ~~America~~, where a system of finance has introduced the love of ~~unequal wealth~~; destroyed the spirit of common industry, and planted that of lottery in the human heart; making

the ~~mass of the people~~ gamblers; and under the idea of speculation, shrouded engrossing and monopoly every where.

It would seem that the sculptures of which I speak are the works of more ancient savages than these which have lately occupied this country; these tribes not being in the habit of making any such themselves, and the figures evincing an old date, being in most places in some degree effaced, by the water of the river, or the rain washing the rocks on which they are engraven. They would seem to have been a more improved race, who had given way to barbarians of the north who had overrun the country. It is generally understood, by the tradition of the present Indians, and the early French writers, Charlevoix and others, that about the beginning of the present century, the Six Nations conquered this country, and expelled the former owners; and the word Ohio, is said to mean bloody, and was the name given it from the blood shed upon its waters at that time.

The fortifications of which we speak, must have also been works of defence, of that or an earlier period. From the trees growing upon the mound or parapet of these, they must be, some of them, many hundred years old.

It will strike the reflection, how was it possible for the human mind to remain so long in so low a stage of improvement, as was the case with these, the aborigines of this country? Perhaps the more puzzling question would be, whence the spring that could have sufficient energy to rouse them from it? I shall leave this to philosophy, thought, and historical deduction. Enough has been said at present.

CHAPTER XV.

Pleasant conversation between the captain and Duncan, followed by an unpleasant incident to the latter.

On the third day, renewing their journey, the conversation between the captain and his servant turned on the character and history of the present revenue officer, the late Teague O'Regan. The captain gave Duncan a relation of what had happened—in the case of the attempt to draw him off to the Philosophical Society, to induce him to preach, and even to take a seat in the legislature of the United States; that had it not been for a certain Traddle, a weaver, whom they had been fortunate enough to substitute for him, the people would most undoubtedly have elected Teague, and sent him to Congress.

"Guid deliver us!" said Duncan; "do they make parliament men o' weavers i' this kintra? In Scotland, it maun be a duke or a laird, that can hae a seat there."

"This is a republic, Duncan," said the captain; "and the rights of man are understood, and exercised by the people."

"And if he could be i' the Congress, why did ye let him be a gauger?" said Duncan.

"This is all the prejudice of education, Duncan," said the captain. "An appointment in the revenue, or any other, under the executive of the United States, ought not to have disgrace attached to it in the popular opinion, not even in the case of the hangman; for it is a necessary, and ought to be held a sacred duty."

"I dinna ken how it is," said Duncan; "but I see they hae every thing tail foremost in this kintra, to what they hae in Scotland: a gauger a gentleman; weavers in the legislature, and even the hangman respectit."

Just at this instant, was heard by the way side, the jingling of a loom, in a small cabin with a window towards the road. It entered the head of Duncan rather indiscreetly to expostulate with this weaver, and to know why it was that he also did not attain a seat in some public body. Advancing to the orifice, as it might be called, he applied his mouth and bespoke him, as he sat upon his loom, thus: "Traddle," said he, giving him the same name that the captain had given the other, "why is it that ye sit here, treading these twa stecks, and playing wi' your elbows, as ye throw the thread, when there is one o' your occupation, not far off, that is now a member of the house o' lords, or commons, in America; and is gane to the Congress o' the United States? Canna ye get your sel elected; or is it because ye dinna offer, that ye are left behind in this manner? Ye should be striving man, while guid posts are gaeing, and no be sitting there wi' your hurdies on a beam. Dinna your neighbours gie ye a vote? Ye should get a chapin o' whiskey, man, and drink till them, and gar them vote, or, ye should gae out and talk politics, and mak speeches."

Such was the address of Duncan, meaning nothing more than to amuse himself, with the idea of a manufacturer obtaining a seat in the legislature, and making laws instead of warping webs. But in the mean time, the wife of the mechanic, who had overheard the conversation, and was incensed at an attempt to take her husband from his business, seizing a pot-stick and running out, and turning the corner of the house, laid a blow upon the shoulders of the orator; accompanying her force with reproachful words to this effect:

"Will you never let the man alone," said she, "to mind his business, but be putting these notions in his head? He has been once constable, and twice member of assembly; and what has he got by it, but to leave his customers at home, complaining of their work not done? It is but little

good that has been got of him these three years, but going to elections, and meetings, and talking politics; and after all, what does he know of these matters? Just about as much as my brown cow. A set of lounging louts, coming here and taking up his time with idle nonsense of what laws should be made, and urging him to be elected; and William Rabb's wife waiting for her coverlet this three months, and Andrew Nangle for his shirt cloth. It is enough to put a woman in a passion that has the temper of a saint, to have her man's head turned so from his own affairs, by idle vagabonds that come the way, in this manner."

At this, she made another effort, and springing forward was about to impress a second blow; when Duncan retreating, and lifting up his stick in his turn, accosted her in these words: "Gin you were a man, as ye are a muckle witch, I should be for taking ye wi' this rung across your hurdies. Is it any affront to have it evened to your man Traddle, to gae to the senate, and to get a post i' the government, and no be knotting threads here wi' his shuttle, like a tradesman o' Paisly? Ye vile carlin, ye maun be a witch or a warse body, to tak a stick in your hand, like a driver o' stots, and come pelmell upon a man ahint his back, when he is na speaking till ye. Foul fa' me, but if it were na a shame to battle wi' ane o' your sex, I wad break your back wi' a lunder, before ye knew what ye were about. To keep this honest man here, shut up like a prisoner under ground, in a dungeon, drawing a reed till him, instead o' throwing out his arms like a Latin scholar, or a collegian, making his oration to his hearers! Are ye chained there, (turning his speech to Traddle,) that ye stay sae contentedly yoursel, man, and dinna break out, and escape frae the fangs o' this witch?"

"This witch!" said she, (apprehending danger from a second address to the weaver,) "this witch! I shall witch you to some purpose, you vagabond." With this she made

a hasty step, and was nearly on the back of the Caledonian, with her pot-stick, having made a stroke at him, which he evaded by taking to his heels, and retreating speedily. The captain in the mean time had rode on, and left them to complete their dialogue.

CHAPTER XVI.

Duncan gets into trouble—A happy eclaircissement, not made in the most flattering terms.

DUNCAN had affected the wag on the late occasion with the manufacturer and his wife, and had like to have suffered some alloy of pain from the blows which were inflicted, or meditated. But at the public house, in a village, a little way ahead this day, where they halted about noon, a circumstance happened which changed his view a little, and disposed him to sadness, rather than to play the wag with his neighbours on the road. While the captain had reclined, and was asleep on a sofa, a constable had apprehended Duncan with a warrant commanding this officer to take the prisoner before a justice of the peace, by whom it had been issued. Duncan had taken for granted, that it was the weaver's wife who had made complaint, and sent after him, on account of the threats he had made to chastise her. The bustle in apprehending him had made a noise in the porch, and awakened the captain. "Duncan," said he, "what is the matter?"

"Lord deliver me," said Duncan, "if I ken. They say I am a prisoner. The bailiff here has ta'en me wi' a warrant. It maun be that witch the weaver's wife, that has made a complaint, just because I was jesting a wee, about her husband gaeing to the legislature; and she did na tak it weel, but amaist brake my back wi' her spurtle; and now she has ga'en awa and sworn belike that I strak her; for

this is the way o' these witches, that they turn states' evidence, and swear for themselves against honest people."

"Duncan," said the captain, "this is what comes of your meddling with politics. You must undertake to say forsooth, who is qualified to be a representative of the United States; you must insist upon an industrious mechanic to relinquish his occupation; and this not from any opinion of his fitness for such appointment, or any principle of love for the public good; but merely for your pastime, and in ridicule of a republican government in this country. For though there has been instances of choosing weavers for the legislature, and cobblers, and coopers, why make a burlesque of this? Have not the people a right to make a choice? yet because these things are not common in Scotland, it must be a subject of a laugh here. Had you been serious, there could have been no fault found; but the insult lies in your making a jest of it, which was evident from your manner, in turning aside from the highway to address a weaver through the window of a cellar; and in an abrupt manner, to introduce an expostulation with him on the subject of election. No wonder that the termagant his wife, who did not relish the proposition even in a serious point of view, was offended, and disposed to inflict blows; and, on the resistance made on your part, and threats probably thrown out, has applied to a justice of the peace, and obtained a warrant to commit you to the custody of the law."

"What can they mak o' it?" said Duncan.

"I do not know," said the captain, "what offence it may be in law, but certainly it was great indecorum to amuse yourself, not at the expense of a mechanic, but indirectly at the whole body politic of the union; not that I think it unbecoming to send such as Traddle to deliberative assemblies; but that you seemed to think so; because it is a thing not known in North Britain, where aristocratic principles prevail. You might have meant this a pleasantry; but it may

be construed a reflection upon a republican government, and to destroy the rights of man, in the first germ and principles of their existence."

"They canna mak high treason o't," said Duncan.

"I do not know," said the captain, "what a strict judge might make it; I should think it could not be made a hanging matter. However, let us see the warrant, and inquire what the justice of the peace has made of it."

"I shall not show the warrant to any man," said the constable, "but to Squire Underchin, where I must carry the prisoner immediately. So come along—come along; the squire will show you the warrant."

There being no help for it, Duncan was obliged to go along, the captain accompanying him. Being brought before the justice, "Ah, have ye nabbed him?" said his worship: "I am glad ye have got him, the rascal."

"There is no question," said the captain, stepping forward, and addressing the justice, "but the young man has acted with some imprudence; but ignorance of the world, and especially of the laws and customs of America, has been the principal cause of his intrusion. Though he has not been long in my service, yet I am disposed to speak with some confidence of his civility in general. But may it please your worship, in what shape have you brought the charge? Is it an assault and battery, or what?"

"I make it bastardy," said the justice; "what else would I make it?"

"Bastardy!" said the captain. "It cannot be a rape that your worship means. There was no rape, nor any thing of that nature. Some warm words may have passed, but nothing more, I will engage. They appeared to be in no loving humour, nor did he stay behind me above twenty minutes on the road."

The justice was a little swarthy man, of a corpulent habit, seated in an elbow chair, with pen, ink, and paper on a

stand by him. He threw himself back as he spoke; leaned his head alternately on the right and left shoulder, and bridled his lips, as the phrase is, discovering in the affectation of his manner, great pride of office, and apparent satisfaction in having caught a criminal. Endeavouring to be witty at the embarrassment of the present culprit, and expressions of the captain,—"Why Mr.," said he, addressing himself to this last, "though I do not know who you are, that are so willing to assist me in the examination of this vaggybone, yet I will observe to you, that I make no doubt that some hot, or at least warm words, have passed between them; but as to the time of twenty minutes, or a longer period, it is of no consideration in the law; provided the woman swears her child to him, as this here woman has swore. His ignorance of the customs of America wont excuse him; we must commit him, or bind him over if he can find security, to appear at the sessions, to take his trial for the fornication."

"Wi' bairn!" said Duncan. "She might just as weell have ta'en an oath, that I was wi' bairn to her. O, the false jade! I get her wi' bairn! I would get a witch wi' bairn as soon."

"It is extraordinary," said the captain, "that a married woman should bring such a charge; and even if a single woman, the time is too short to be certain of pregnancy."

"Too short a time?" said the justice; "do you call six months a short time? And as to marriage, there was a promise of marriage, as is usual in such cases, but that's all."

"It is not six hours," said the captain, "nor the half of it, since the fracas happened."

"Guid guide us!" said Duncan, who was standing on the back ground, making his soliloquy; "Guid guide us, that I should come to America, to be tri'd for getting a woman wi' bairn. What will Mr. Dougal, our minister, think o' this? after ha'ing the Confession o' Faith wi' me, and sae mony

guid bukes. Standing on the stool is bad enough; but naething to the way they hae i' this kintra, o' taking a man with a bum, and bringing him before a magistrate; just the same thing as he were a sheep stealer. O the false jade, to swear a bairn upon me; what will my ain folks say, when they hear o' it in Scotland? It will be a stain upon my kin to the third generation. It was the deel himsel put it in my head to stand talking wi' a fool weaver about his election. I wish I were in Perth again, and out o' a' this trouble."

"Six hours!" said the justice, answering to the captain. "Is it not six months, Sampson," referring to the constable, since this pedlar left this settlement?"

"Pedlar!" said the captain; "he never was a pedlar; nor is it six months since he left Scotland. He was recommended to me by a gentleman whom I knew very well, Mr. M'Donald, as a lad just come over. So that it is impossible he could have been here six months ago."

"I am no sax months frae Perth," said Duncan.

"Is not your name Ryburn," said the justice, "and are you not that Scotch pedlar that was in this settlement two or three months? Can there be any mistake?" referring to the constable; "is not this Niel Ryburn, for whom the warrant calls?"

"It is the very man," said the constable. "I knew him by his dialect the moment I saw him in the porch at the public house, talking with the hostler. He has the same brogue upon his tongue, and says 'Guid guide us,' just in the same manner: only at that time he used to say also, by my fa'th, and by my sa'l, more than he does at present. He has become religious since, or pretends to be so, in order to deceive your worship. But at that time, he had not much religion about him, and had no guid bukes, as he calls them, in his pocket; but could damn his sa'l, and swear like a devil."

"Niel Ryburn!" said the captain; "that is not his name,

it is Duncan Ferguson. But pray who is the woman that he is said to have seduced? The weaver's wife is the only one that he has had a conversation with to my knowledge."

"A weaver's wife!" said the justice; "no, Mr. M'Radin, or whatever else they may call you; it is no weaver's wife; it is Kate Maybone that has made oath against him. He kept company with her about six months ago, when he was in this settlement peddling, and behaved like a villain to her, arter promisin marriage."

"I perceive," said the captain, "we are all at cross purposes, and under a mistake in this business. This North Briton——"

"Stop," said the justice, "if you are to give your testimony, you, Mr. with the cocked hat," speaking to the captain, "we shall take it by yourself; and not let the pedlar hear it, to enable him to make his story fit yourn."

Duncan being withdrawn in the custody of the constable, the captain was examined, and related the particulars on oath of all that he knew respecting the prisoner; and now being ordered to withdraw, the prisoner was called in and interrogated.

His story was to the same effect with that of the captain, and would seem to distinguish him from his countryman named in the warrant; but his Scottish dialect founded the presumption of identity so strongly, that it was difficult, if not impossible, to get over it.

"I see," said the justice, "that they have made up their stories so as one may fit t'other. They are a couple of vaggybones. One purtends he is a naytrel, and t'other tries to help him out. I believe I must commit them both; the one for bastardy, and t'other for horse-stealing. Havin but the one horse is a vary suspishis sarcumstance; they sartintly must have stolen 'em. The story about the excise officer is too rediclus. It is an audashus falsehood. This fellar that calls himself capting, is the head of a gang of

horse thieves, and t'other fellar goes in cahoot with him, I'll warrant."

This being signified to the captain, who was now called in, he addressed the justice to the following effect: "Mr. Justice," said he, "what I have related to you, upon oath, however improbable it may appear, is the fact; and as to your surmises of horse-stealing, they are groundless; and you may commit if you think proper; but you shall answer for the consequences. It is no small matter to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and I am not so much unknown to the government, as not to obtain redress against an ignoramus like you, who disgrace the commission by your stupidity, as many of the same office do. The utmost of your power is to commit; but it may come in my turn to bring you before the court and make you pay heavy damages, and have you dismissed from your office. What proof or presumption have you, that I have stolen horses? Is it that of having a servant on foot, rather than having one mounted? If I had stolen one horse, could I not as well have stolen two? The presumption is the reverse of what your worship states. As to the North Briton, who is charged with bastardy, by the name of Niel Ryburn, with a certain Kate Maybone, where is the woman? cannot she be brought face to face with the man, and confronted? Let her then say if this is Niel Ryburn; and that this simple lad is the father of her child? Six months ago he was on the other side of the Atlantic. Let the matter be examined into."

From the sedate and firm manner in which the captain had expressed himself, the justice began to be apprehensive of having been mistaken, and was intimidated. He was willing therefore to send for the woman who had made the oath. Being in the village, she was in a short time brought before his worship by the constable, who had been despatched for that purpose.

"Kate," said the magistrate, "is not this the Scotch pedlar,

"Young woman," said he, "I wish you much joy on your family prospects; but I dinna envy the pedlar o' his guid luck."

the father of your child, and against whom you have made oath?"

"The father of my child!" said Kate; "do you mean to insult me, 'squire, by asking such a question? What! that ill-looking fellow! No—tho' Mr. Ryburn has used me ill, he was a gentleman. Squire, I never seed the clumsy-looking dunce in my life before."

Duncan was well pleased to be relieved from the charge; but at the same time a little hurt at the undervaluing of the witness.

"Young woman," said he, "I wish you muckle joy o' your family prospects; but I dinna envy the pedlar o' his guid luck. If I was to stand i' the stool, it should be for anither sort o' luking lassie; and no sik a brazen-fac'd ane as ye are."

Kate was about to make reply; but the justice not thinking it comported with the dignity of office, to suffer an altercation in his presence, and being chagrined at not finding this to be the real culprit, released the arrest with ill humour, desiring captain, prisoner, Kate, and constable, to be gone about their business.

CHAPTER XVII.

The unlooked-for appearance of the excise officer, and the strange account of his being prevented from continuing his journey—The meeting with Valentine and Orson; the captain advances with military array, but succeeds in making a truce.

THE second day after this, in the afternoon of the day, as the captain and his man Duncan were advancing on their journey, they perceived a person ahead, coming towards them, with a long slouching walk, as if in considerable haste, and a stick in his hand.

"If that man had not his face the wrong way," said the captain, "I should take him for the revenue officer, Teague O'Regan; he has a good deal of his appearance, both in his person and his gait. But he cannot have mistaken his direction so much as to be coming this way, instead of going to his district."

"I dinna ken," said Duncan; "these Irish ay put the wrang end o' their speech foremost; and why not put the wrang end o' their course now and then?"

As they were debating, the person approached, and it was discovered to be Teague.

He had advanced to the pass of the mountain, where he was met and opposed by two men of an athletic personal appearance, who forbade him, at his peril, to proceed farther. They were armed with clubs, and presented a very choleric countenance. The revenue officer had thought it not advisable to encounter them, being two to one, and proposed rather to fall back, and join himself to the captain and the Scotchman, who might support him in his march.

These two men were of the name of Valentine and Orson; it is unnecessary to inquire, whether these were their real, or merely what is called nicknames given to them, either from the fierceness of their nature, or from their superior strength, resembling the two champions of that name, of whom we read in books of romance. They had been born and bred in these mountains.

Valentine had the advantage of some education with a Scotch school-master, who had taught him a little Latin; so that, conceiving himself to have acquired the rudiments of this tongue, and therefore qualified to enter on the study of some one of the learned professions, he had deliberated whether he should plead law, preach, or be a physician; but happening one day to see a member of Congress riding along, with a boy behind him, carrying a portmanteau, he had taken it into his head to be a member himself, and had

canvassed frequently for that delegation, but had been disappointed; one person and another coming forward, and taking off the votes. He had made up his mind for some time past to make an experiment of personal force, to intimidate competitors. For this purpose, he had taken to his assistance another young man of the name of Orson, whom he found in the neighbourhood, and with whom, sallying out as a kind of squire, or armour-bearer, he could knock down any one that had the impudence to set up against him in the district. Orson had not actually been suckled by a bear, like his namesake in romance; but he was a rough, stout man, and well qualified to bear a part in this mode of canvassing.

The rumour had prevailed, by some means, that a certain Major O'Regan, was coming forward to stand a trial in that district; whether propagated by some wag, who passed him on the road, and was disposed to amuse himself with the apprehensions of the two rustics; or to some mistake on the part of travellers, who had come through the village in the neighbourhood.

The captain, however, and the revenue officer himself, had resolved their menace into a dislike of the excise law, and a wish to intimidate, or prevent by force, the opening an inspection office.

Under these impressions, advancing to the pass, they were met by the young men, who made a show of battle; though on their part not a little disconcerted at seeing Teague return with a reinforcement, and with the advantage of cavalry.

The captain placed himself in the centre, on horseback, and a little in advance of the two wings on foot, Duncan and Teague. The North Briton preserved a composed manner, and showed a steady countenance. The Hibernian, on the other hand, willing, by an appearance of great rage, and much valour, to supersede the necessity of battle, or bloodshed, stood with his right foot before his left, flourishing his

cudgel, and grinning like an angry person, who was impatient for the onset.

As is the manner of heroic men, the captain thought proper, before the commencement of hostilities, to accost the adverse combatants, to see whether it might not be in his power to remove, or at least allay their prejudices against the obnoxious law, and induce them to suffer the officer to pass. Accordingly he addressed them in the following words:

"Gentlemen, the law may be exceptionable on general principles, or locally unequal in its operation to you in this district. Nevertheless, it is the law, and has received the sanction of the public voice, made known through the constitutional organ, the representatives of the people. It is the great principle of a republican government, that the will of the majority shall govern. The general will has made this a law, and it behooves individual minds to submit."

"I wad na sleech and prig wi' them," said Duncan, stepping forward and flourishing his cudgel. "I wad na hae mony words about it. But just see at once whether they will dare to stap the high road. Gin they persist, I can tak ane o' them, and ye and the gauger can tak the ither, and my lug for it, I shall gie the ane that fa's to my lot, a weel payed skin, I warrant him. Sae dinna ye tak up time fairlying about the matter; but gae on, and try our rungs o'er the hurdies o' them. I shall gar this stick crack o'er the riggin o' the loons, in a wie while."

Teague, in the mean time, was on the back ground, endeavouring to look sour, making wry mouths, and grinning occasionally: all this with a view to support the threats of the North Briton.

"Duncan," said the captain, for he had not attended to Teague, "put up your cudgel. Policy oftentimes avails more than force. The law in question may be odious, and great allowance ought to be made for the prejudices of the

people. By soft measures, and mild words, prejudices may be overcome. These appear to be but young men; and rashness is a concomitant of early life. By expostulation we may probably have the good fortune to be able to pass on, without being under the necessity to attempt battery, or shed blood."

The two young men were not to be intimidated by a show of cudgels, or grinning, and wry mouths; but still conceiving that the object of the captain was to force an election in favour of his precursor, the Hibernian, and not understanding the scope of his harangue, but supposing him to speak of the law of election, where the votes of the majority, that is, the greater number of votes, constitutes the representative, they were as much disposed to use force as at first; and, advancing, appeared ready to sustain the shock.

An affray must have ensued; for the captain, having taken every possible measure to avoid blows, was now resolute to force the pass, even at the risk of battle. But just at this instant, the clergyman of the village coming up, and who had known the character, and had been frequently a witness of the conduct of the young men, addressed them: "Young men," said he, "will you be eternally running into errors of this kind? Have you interrogated these gentlemen, and understood from themselves whether any of them are candidates, and mean to disturb you by setting up for Congress in this district? It is possibly the humour of some wag coming up the road, and knowing your disposition, that has created the surmise."

The fact was, that some wag who had passed Teague on the road, and who had known the apprehensions of Valentine, had given rise to the report. For he thought to amuse himself by it, knowing the extravagancies into which it would of course throw the two young men. For the whole country, not long before that time, had heard in what manner they had mistaken individuals for public candidates. On

one occasion they had fought with a mason and his barrow-man, and abused them considerably. On another occasion, they had knocked down a potter with a bag of earthen-ware, and broke several of his vessels. For this reason, the grave man, of whom I spoke, who had got a hint by some means of what they were about, had traced the young men, and coming up at the critical moment, addressed them as I have before said, exhorting them to make inquiry first, whether their apprehensions were well or ill founded; and not to take it for granted that either of these personages were competitors for Congress, before the fact had been ascertained, and their pretensions considered by an amicable expostulation.

"Candidates for Congress!" said the captain; "what could have put that into the young men's head? It is true, this bog-trotter, who is now an excise officer, was on the point once of being a candidate, or at least of being elected a representative of the union; but having escaped that, though with some difficulty, he is now in the executive department; and has received an appointment to the collection of the revenue of a district beyond this, to which he is now on his way; and is far from having any thoughts of an election of any kind whatever."

The two young men, at this, were relieved from their fears, and their minds seemed dilated with unusual joy. Stepping forward, they shook hands with Teague, and invited him to drink with them; but the captain apologized, alleging the necessity on the part of O'Regan, to press forward as speedily as possible, and to be on the spot where the functions of his duty called him. This apology seeming to suffice, they all three made obeisance to the young men and to the clergyman, and passed on.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Wherein the author gravely discusses the question, whether it be right to use force, or other unfair practices, in elections—There are but two characters fit to be representatives, the plain man of good sense, or the man of education and literary talents.

It may be thought preposterous in these young men to attempt force in the matter of an election. That depends on their possessing any other faculty by which they could succeed. Have not all animals recourse to those means of providing for themselves which nature has given them? The squirrel climbs a tree, while the wolf runs through the brake. The cat lies in wait, and watches for her prey; while the greyhound pursues with open mouth, and seizes the hare or the fox.

Valentine would not seem to have possessed the advantage of mental recommendations; he could not have it in his power to allure and persuade. Why not therefore act by compulsion, and use force? But why not make application of this force upon the voters themselves, and knock down, either before or after an election, all those who had been obstinate in withholding their suffrages? It is probable that experiment had been made of this, and that it had been found ineffectual. What then remained but to repel the intrusion of competitors? It was more convenient, as there were fewer of these; at least it rarely happens, that there are as many candidates as voters. It seems more natural, as beginning at the source and repressing the pretensions of the canvassing individuals who are usually the first movers in the business. It is of the nature of a summary proceeding, and avoids delay, to break the head of a competitor, and induce him by fear, if not by modesty, to desist.

It may be queried, what respectability in the capacity of

legislators can such persons have, after having been elected, without the requisite information on state affairs, or talent of eloquence, to make a figure in a public body? That is no business of mine. It belongs to those that set up for such appointment, to consider this. It may be said, however, that it is not necessary that all should make a figure in the same way. In the exhibition of a circus, you will be as much diverted with the clown who mounts a horse clumsily, or who, attempting to tumble, falls on his posteriors, as with the greatest activity shown by the master. In music, bass is useful; nay, may be thought to be necessary to mix with the treble. An illiterate and ignorant member of a deliberative assembly forms an agreeable contrast with the intelligent; just as in gardening, we are pleased with a wild copse after a parterre.

To some it may appear a *vesania*, or species of madness, to entertain such an inordinate passion for the legislature. Not at all: it was not a madness properly so called, by which I mean a physical derangement of the intellect. The cause was merely moral; and the derangement only such as exists in all cases, where the mind is not well regulated by education, and where the passions are strong and intemperate. This young man Valentine had conceived, at an early period, the idea of becoming a legislator; and as has been said, from seeing some member of Congress pass the road, with a servant and portmanteau;* not at all comprehending the necessity, or at least usefulness, of a knowledge of the geography of the world in commercial questions, or of history in political. He had been accustomed at home to run a foot race with a wood-ranger; to lift a piece of timber at a house-building, or log-rolling; or to wrestle at cornish-hug with the young men of the village; and had

* This was the usual mode of travelling at that day, of persons of distinction, before stages, steamboats, or railways.

imagined that the same degree of strength and dexterity, which had given him a superiority, or at least made him respectable in these, would raise him to reputation in the efforts of the human mind.

Why need we wonder at an uneducated young man judging so preposterously on great subjects? It is not to be presumed that he ever had an opportunity of reading Cudworth's Intellectual System, or any other writer on "*the eternal fitness of things.*" This belongs to the schools; I mean the higher academies, where metaphysics, and the co-relate science of logic is taught.

I am aware that malevolent persons, judging from their feelings, will allege that in the caricature I have given of the mountain candidate, I have had some prototype in view, and hence intended a satire upon individuals. It will not be a fair deduction; unless it is restrained simply to this, that something like it has occurred in the course of my observation, which has given rise to my idea of the picture.

Now that I am upon the subject of elections for deliberative assemblies, I will make a few general observations, without meaning to give offence to any one.

There are but two characters that can be respectable as representatives of the people. A plain man of good sense and information, whether farmer, mechanic, or merchant; or a man of education, and literary talents. The intermediate characters, who have neither just natural reflection, and experience, nor the advantage of reading, are unnatural, and can derive no happiness to themselves from the appointment; nor can they be of use to the commonwealth.*

* The great misfortune is, that even the most illiterate and ignorant thinks himself a man of "good sense and information." He may know that he cannot make or manage a piece of machinery, and yet he thinks himself perfectly qualified to judge of political measures of the most difficult nature, or of the qualifications

But men err, not only judging falsely of their capacity for a public trust, but in the means of obtaining it. I have in view, not only all indelicacy in the solicitation of votes, but in the management that is too often used on election days, in changing tickets, obstructing windows, voting more than once, or exercising any unfair influence over the voter. It is impossible for any law to reach the cure of this evil; it can be remedied only by attaching disgrace in public opinion, to these or the like arts. I do not mean to represent as indelicate the candidates offering to serve. For I would rather be accused of forwardness to offer myself, than of affectation to decline, when I was willing to be elected. The one savours of cowardice and falsehood; the other, at the worst, can be called but vanity.

The wise and virtuous exercise of the right of suffrage, is the first spring of happiness in a republic. If this is touched corruptly or unskilfully, the movements of the machine are throughout affected. Not only judicious regulations by positive law are necessary to secure this, but the system of family and scholastic education ought to contemplate it. An advice which no father ought to fail to give to his son should be to this effect.—"Young man, you have the good fortune to be born in a republic; a felicity that has been enjoyed but by a small portion of the race of man in any age of the world. In some ages it has been enjoyed by none at all. It is a principle of this goverament, that every man has a right *to elect*, and a right *to be elected*. In the exercise of the first, the right to elect, be taught my son, as well to exercise a sound and enlightened judgment, as to preserve a scrupulous and delicate honour: and as at school, the sense of shame amongst your equals, would restrain

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and pretensions of statesmen, and this without reading. The author means here, that degree of information which the mechanic may acquire, and which may be extensive.

you from all fraud in obtaining a game at fives; so much more now that you are a man, let it restrain you from all unfairness in this the great game of man. Be not the slave of party, for this is the folly of the many for the benefit of the few. Recollect that you were not made for the party, but the party for you; yet the interested demagogue will endeavour to lash you into the ranks, as the recruiting officer lashes his enlisted soldier, or shoots the deserter from his company. Such a partisan is not a freeman, but a slave. With regard to being elected, your first consideration will be your talent.

Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent.

At school, you would despise the boy who would set himself forward, as an expert swimmer or wrestler, who was deficient in skill at these exercises. In order to be respectable, put not yourself above your strength. If you covet the honour of a public trust, think of qualifying yourself for it; and let the people think of choosing you to discharge it; that is their business. Lay in a stock of knowledge by reading in early life. Your riper years, and old age, will be useful and dignified, and public appointments will readily follow. You will be under no necessity of soliciting inordinately the suffrages of men. But what after all is the inestimable right of suffrage, if the voter be ignorant? Chance, or corrupt influence, must determine his vote, and these of course will give a character to all the measures growing out of that vote."

CHAPTER XIX.

The excise officer reaches his district, and the captain, being about to return to his own home, gives the new officer a salutary lecture on the nature of his public duties, which may be instructive to others—It is cut short by a fearful event.

THE captain and the two on foot journeyed hence together, without any material incident falling out, or any thing to attract the attention; save what arose from the sparring of the bog-trotters. This took place on the ground of profanity in Teague, and disregard for the covenants; but more especially on a difference of opinion with regard to the desert of their respective services, in the late rencounter with the highwaymen, as they were disposed to call them; Teague alleging that he had intimidated them by grinning, and wry mouths; Duncan claiming the credit by the display of his cudgel. The captain had some difficulty in parrying a decision of their respective pretensions; or adjusting them in such a manner as to satisfy both. They were likely sometimes to come to blows. He was relieved, however, by the approach of the revenue officer to his district, into which they now began to enter.

After some days peregrination through it, having made choice of a central situation, it was thought proper to open an inspection office, which was done by hiring a house, and writing over the door, *Inspection Office of Survey, No. &c.*

Suspicion had existed on the part of the government, that opposition would be made in this district to the opening an office; or at least to the collection of the revenue. These were founded not only in reports of threats of that nature; but in some instances of actual violence, clandestinely committed on deputies. It was for this reason, amongst others,

that the president had accepted the services of O'Regan, a rough and unpolished, but stout and resolute man, as he thought him, with a shelalah in his hand, who could repel occasional insults: or, in case he should fall a victim to the mob, he might be the means of saving a more valuable person. So far these suspicions appeared to be without foundation; the officer having conspicuously traversed the district, and opened an office without molestation.

The captain was now about to return home, having seen the establishment of his ward in an office under government. But before he parted with him, he thought it not amiss to give him lessons with regard to the discharge of his duty in his present appointment. With this view, drawing him into a walk the second day, a small distance from the village, he began his lecture in the following words:

"Teague," said he, "for I am still in the habit of giving you that appellation; not having ascertained whether you are to be styled, your worship, your honour, or your reverence; or at least not having been accustomed to add these epithets; Teague, I say, you are now advanced to great dignity; a limb of the executive of the union. It is true, your department is ministerial, and not of the highest; nevertheless it requires the wisdom of the head to conduct it. But the integrity of the heart is the great object to be regarded. Keep your hands from bribes; and by a delicate impartiality towards all, even from the suspicion of taking them. I should regret indeed after all the pains I have taken in fitting you for an office, and contributing to your appointment, to hear of an impeachment against you, for a misdemeanour in that office. By conducting yourself with a scrupulous honour and pure morality in your present trust, the way is open to a higher advancement; and there in no kind of doubt, but that in due time it will be attainable. The president of the United States, from whom you have received your commission, is said to have the virtue, or rather the excess of one,

never to abandon the person whom he has once taken up, while he believes him to be honest and capable; or at least to carry his attachment to an extreme of reluctance in that particular; whether owing to great slowness in conceiving unfavourably of any one; or to pride of mind, in an unwillingness to have it thought that his judgment could be fallible. You will have an advantage here; but at the same time there is an ultimate point in this, as in all things, beyond which it is impossible to preserve a man. Bear this in mind, and be honest, attentive, and faithful in your duty, and let it be said of you, that you have shown yourself a good citizen."*

Just at this instant a noise was heard, and looking up, a crowd of people were discovered at a considerable distance, advancing towards them, but with acclamations that began to be heard. They were dragging a piece of timber of considerable length, which appeared to be just hewn from the woods; and was the natural stem of a small tree, cut down from the stump, and the bark stripped off. At the same time a couple of pack-horses were driven along, which appeared to be loaded with beds and pillow cases.

The captain was led to believe that these were a number of the country people, who having heard of the revenue officer coming to his district, had come forward to pay their respects to him, and to receive him with that gratulation which is common to honest but illiterate people, in the first paroxysms of their transport. Having understood that country to be chiefly peopled with the descendants of the Irish, or with Irish emigrants themselves, he had supposed that hearing the new officer was a countryman, they had been carried forward, with such zeal to receive him, with huzza-

* This advice to Teague, reminds us of the discourse of Don Quixotte to Sancho when about to proceed to his government over the island of Barrataria.

ing and tumult. On this occasion, he thought it not amiss to turn the conversation, and to prepare the mind and the manners of the deputy for this scene, which being unusual, might disconcert and embarrass him.

"Teague," said he, "it is not less difficult to preserve equanimity in a prosperous situation, than to sustain with fortitude a depression of fortune. These people, I perceive, in a flow of mind, are coming forward to express, with warmth, the honest but irregular sallies of their joy, on your arrival amongst them. It was usual in the provinces under the Roman republic, when a Quæstor, of whom a favourable impression had preceded, was about to come amongst them. It is a pleasing, but a transient felicity, and a wise man will not count too much upon it. For popular favour is unstable, to a proverb. These very people, in the course of a twelve-month, if you displease them, may shout as loud at your degradation, and removal from dignity. At the same time this ought not to lead you to be indifferent, or at least to seem so, to their well-meant expressions of favour at present; much less to affect a contempt, or even a neglect of them. A medium of ease and gracefulness in receiving their advances, and answering their addresses, whether it is a rustic orator in an extempore harangue, or some scholar of the academy, or schoolmaster, they may have prevailed upon to draw up a speech, and read it to you. There is no manner of doubt but the president of the United States may have been a thousand times embarrassed with the multitude of addresses delivered, or presented to him; and it required no small patience and fortitude to sustain them. Yet it has been remarked, that he has received them all with complacency; showing himself neither elevated with the praise, nor irritated with the intrusion. And it is but reasonable, and what a benevolent man would indulge; for it is a happiness to these creatures, to give themselves the opportunity of being distinguished in this manner."

Duncan, who had heard a rumour in the village of what was going forward, had in the mean time come up, and understanding from the last words of the captain, what had been the drift of the conversation with Teague, and discovering his mistake, interrupted him at this place.—"Captain," said he, "ye need na be cautioning him against applause, and popularity, and the turning o' the head wi' praise and guid usage: for I doubt muckle if it comes to that wi' him yet. I wad rather suspect that these folks have na guid will towards them. I dinna ken what they mean to do wi' him, but if a body might guess frae the bed ye see there on the pony's back, they mean to toss him in a blanket. But if it were to be judged frae the tree they hae trailing after them, I wad suppose they mean to mak a hanging matter o' it, and tak his life a' thegether. There is na doubt but they are coming in a mob, to make a seizure o' the gauger, and the talk o' the town is o' a punishment I dinna understand, o' tarring and feathering. I have heard o' the stocks, and the gallows, and drowning like a witch, but I never heard o' the like o' that in Scotland. I have heard o' tarring the sheep, to keep them frae the rot, but I never heard o' tarring a human creature. May be they mean to put it on his nose, to hinder him frae smelling their whiskey. I see they've got a keg o't there in their rear, drawn upon a sled; at least, I suppose it to be whiskey they hae in that keg, to take a dram, as they gae on wi' the frolic; unless it be the tar that they talk of to put upon the officer."

This last conjecture was the true one. For it was tar; and the stem of a tree which they drew, was what is called a liberty-pole, which they were about to erect, in order to dance round it, with hallooing, and the whoop of exultation.

The cavalcade now approaching, they began to cast their eyes towards the group of the three, as they stood together.

"By de holy faders," said Teague, "I see dey have deir looks upon me. Dey look as wild as de 'White Boys,' or

de 'Hearts of Oak' in Ireland. By de holy apostles, dere is no fighting wid pitch-forks; we shall be kilt, and murdered into de bargain."

"Teague," said the captain, "recollect that you are an officer of government, and it becomes you to support its dignity, not betraying unmanly fear, but sustaining the violence even of a mob itself with fortitude."

"Fait, and I had rather be no officer at all," said Teague, "if dis is de way de paple get out o' deir senses in dis country. Take de office yourself; de divil burn me, but I shall be after laying it down, as fast as a hot piraty, if dis is to come of it; to be hooted at like a wild baste, and shot, and hanged upon a tree, like a squirrel, or a Paddy from Cork, on St. Patrick's day, to make fun o' de Irish. I scorn to be choked before I am dead; divil burn de office for me, I'll have none of it. I can take my oat upon de holy cross, dat I am no officer. By Saint Patrick, and if dere are any Irish boys amongst dem I would rather join wid 'em. What is de government wid offices to one dat is choked, and can't spake to his acquaintance in dis world? By de holy apostles, I am no officer; I just took it for a frolic as I was coming up de road, and you may be officer yourself, and good luck wid de commission; captain I shall have noting to do wid it."

At this instant the advancing crowd raised a loud shout, crying "*Liberty and no excise! liberty and no excise! down with all excise officers.*"

Teague began to tremble, and to skulk behind the captain. "By de holy water o' de confession," said he, "dey are like de savages, dey have deir eyes upon me, I shall be scalped; I shall be kilt and have de skin of me head off, like a wolf or a shape. God love you, captain, spake a good word to dem, and tell dem a good story, or I shall be ate up like a toad, or a wild baste in de forests."

The bog-trotter was right; for this moment they had got

their eyes upon the group, and began to distinguish him as the officer of the revenue. An exact description had been given them of his person and appearance, for these people had their correspondents, even at the seat of government; and travellers, moreover, had recognised him, and given an account of his physiognomy and apparel.

"There he is, there he is," was the language; "the rascally excise officer; we shall soon take care of him. He is of the name of O'Regan, is he? We shall O'Regan him in a short time."

"Divil burn me, if I am de excise officer," said Teague. "It is all a mistake gentlemen. It is true I was offered de commission; but de captain here knows dat I would not take it. It is dis Scotchman dat is de officer. By my soul, you may tar and feader him, and welcome."

"No," said the captain, stepping forward, "no gentlemen: for so I yet call you; though the menaces which you express, and the appearance of force which your preparations exhibit, depart from the desert of that appellation. Nevertheless, as there is still a probability of arresting violence, and reclaiming you from the error of your meditated acts, I address you with the epithet of gentlemen. You are not mistaken in your designation of the officer of the revenue, though he had not the candour to avow himself; but would meanly subject a fellow bog-trotter to the odium and risk: an act of which, after all the pains that have been taken of his education, to impress him with sentiments of truth and honour, I am greatly ashamed. No, gentlemen, I am unwilling to deceive you, or that the meditated injury should fall on him, who, if he has not the honour of the office, ought not to bear the occasional disadvantage: I am ready to acknowledge and avow, nor shall these wry faces, and contortions of body, which you observe in the red-headed man, prevent me; that he is the *bona fide*, actual excise officer. Nevertheless, gentlemen, let me expostulate with you

on his behalf. Let me endeavour to save him from your odium, not by falsehood, but by reason. Is it not a principle of that republican government which you have established, that the will of the majority shall govern; and has not the will of the majority of the United States enacted this law? Will ——"

By this time they had sunk the butt end of the sapling in the hole dug for it, and it stood erect with a flag displayed in the air, and was called a liberty pole. The beds, and pillow cases had been cut open, and were brought forward. A committee had been appointed to conduct the operation. It was while they were occupied in doing this, that the captain had without interruption gone on in making his harangue. But these things being now adjusted, a principal person of the committee came forward, just at the last words of the captain.

"The will of the majority," said he; "yes, faith, the will of the majority shall govern. It is right that it should be the case. We know the excise officer very well. Come lay hands upon him."

"Guid folk," said Duncan, "I am no the gauger, it is true; nor am I a friend to the excise law, though I come in company wi' the officer; nevertheless I dinna approve o' this o' your dinging down the government. For what is it but dinging down the government to act against the laws? Did ye never read i' the Bible, that rebellion is worse than witchcraft? Did ye never read o' how mony lairds, and dukes were hanged in Scotland lang ago for rebellion? When the government comes to tak this up, ye sal all be made out rebels, and hanged. Ye had better think what ye are about. Ye dinna gie fair play. If ye want to fight, and ony o' ye will turn out wi' me I sal tak a turn wi' him; and no just jump upon a man a' in ae lump, like a parcel o' tinklers at a fair."

The committee had paid no attention to this harangue; but had in the mean time seized Teague, and conveyed him

to a cart, in which the keg of tar had been placed. The operation had commenced amid the vociferation of the bog-trotter, crossing himself, and preparing for purgatory. They had stripped him to the waist, and pouring the tar upon his naked body, emptied at the same time a bed of feathers on his head, which adhering to the viscous fluid, gave him the appearance of a wild fowl of the forest. The cart being driven off with the prisoner in this state, a great part of the mob accompanied, with the usual exclamation of "Liberty, and no excise law. Down with all excise officers."

CHAPTER XX.

Containing some tedious reflections, and a brief inquiry into the history of the practice of tarring and feathering.

It is time now to make some reflections, were it only for the sake of form; just as the clergyman who divides his text into several heads, and then adds, "we shall conclude with an improvement of the whole; or with a few practical observations or reflections." In early life, when long sermons tired me, the young mind not capable of a long attention, I used to look out for this peroratory part of the discourse with much anxiety; not that I valued it more than any other, for the intrinsic worth of it, but merely because it was the last. It appeared to me an unconscionable thing in a man to speak too long, when it was left with himself how long he should speak. Ah! if it was known how many backward blessings I have given tedious speakers even in the pulpit itself, in my time, I should be thought a very wicked man. Perhaps some may think that I am a tedious writer. Well; but have not readers it in their power to lay down the book when they think proper, and begin again?

But as I was saying, it has become time to make some

reflections, of which it must be acknowledged, I have been sparing in this latter part of my performance. But upon what shall I reflect? The vanity of things, doubtless. But in what mode shall I present this vanity? In moralizing on the disappointment of the captain and the revenue officer, with the waiting-man Duncan Ferguson, coming forward to establish offices, and all at once made prisoners, and treated as the meanest culprits? or shall it be on the mistaken patriotism of even good though uninformed men, opposing an obnoxious, and unequal law, not by remonstrance, but by actual force, and thereby sapping all principle, or rather overthrowing all structure of a republican government? Or shall it be on the nature and necessity of that wild justice called Lynch law? No: these are exhausted topics. I shall rather content myself at present, with a dissertation on that mode of disgrace, or punishment, which was chosen in the case of the revenue officer—tarring and feathering.

I find no trace of this mode of punishment amongst the ancients, I mean the Greeks, Hebrews, and Romans. Having had occasion lately to look over the whole book of Deuteronomy, I have paid attention to this particular, and have discovered no vestige of it. Amongst the Greeks, as far as my memory serves me, there is nothing like it. I recollect well the sanctions of criminal law amongst the Romans. And what appears to me to come nearest to this tarring and feathering, is the punishment of the sewing up the culprit in a sack, with an ape, a serpent, and a fox; and throwing him into a river, or a basin of the sea, to drown, if he had escaped death by his companions in the mean time.

As to the origin of tarring and feathering, I am at a loss to say.* It would seem to me, that it took its rise in the town of Boston, just before the commencement of the Ame-

* This mode of punishment is said to be alluded to in the laws of Oleron.

rican revolution. Unless, indeed, it should be contended that Nebuchadnezzar was tarred and feathered; of which I am not persuaded; because, though it is said that "his nails had grown to eagles' claws," and in that case presenting the talons of a bird, which a tarred and feathered man resembles, yet at the same time it is added, he ate grass like an ox. Now a turkey buzzard, or a bald eagle, does not eat grass like an ox; nor do I know that these fowls eat grass at all, or at least so obviously as to make the eating grass a distinguishing characteristic of their nature. I shall therefore give up the hypothesis of Nebuchadnezzar being tarred and feathered.

It would appear to me to be what may be called a revolutionary punishment, beyond what in a settled state of the government may be inflicted by the opprobrium of opinion; and yet short of the coercion of the laws. It was in this middle state, that it took its rise with us; answering the same end, but with a more mild operation, than that of the lantern at the commencement of the revolution in France. It took its rise in the sea coast towns in America; and I would suppose it to be owing to some accidental conjunction of the seamen and the citizens, devising a mode of punishment for a person obnoxious. The sailors naturally thought of tar, and the women, who used to be assisting on these occasions, thought of bolsters and pillow cases.

Let it suffice that I have suggested the question, and leave it to be settled by some other person, at some future period.

CHAPTER XXI.

O'Regan escapes into the wilderness—The captain retires from the scene of the disturbance—The emigrant's valley.

With regard to Teague, whom we left in the hands of the mob, having been carted about the village, until the eyes

of all were satiated with the spectacle, he was dismissed; but ordered to depart from what was called the survey, under the penalty of being seized again, and hanged on the liberty pole, to which they pointed at the same time, and on which there was a cross bar, which appeared to render it convenient for that purpose.

The unfortunate officer was not slow to take the hint, but as soon as he was out of their hands, made his way to the wilderness. There we shall leave him for the present, and return to the captain, whom we left in the village, and who had been employed during the occasion, reasoning with the people, and endeavouring first to divert them from the outrage, and afterwards to convince them of the error of it, and the danger of the consequences. Instead of allaying their fervour, and convincing their judgments, it had begun to provoke, and irritate exceedingly; and gave birth to surmises that he was an accomplice of the excise officer, which in a short time grew into a rumour, that he meant to continue the inspection office, and substitute the North Briton as a deputy in the room of O'Regan, until his return. Under this impression, assembling next day, they proceeded to pull down the inspection office altogether, and to inquire for the captain and his valet, that they might tar and feather them also.

The captain having had a hint of this, and judging from the experiment he had made, that it was in vain to oppose the violence of the people, but rather yield to it for the present, thought proper to withdraw from the village for a time, and take his route towards the mountains, where he might remain at some farm-house, until a more peaceable state of things should take place.

He had travelled the greater part of the day, and towards evening, when he began to think of taking quarters for the night, he came to a narrow valley at the foot of a mountain, with a small, but a clear and rapid stream running through the valley, which had the appearance in some parts of a na-

tural meadow, there being intervals of grass plats of considerable extent, with hazel copses of young trees. The tall timber on the height above, formed an agreeable shade, and ledges of stone, worn smooth by the water in some places, making small but perpendicular falls in the current of the water. Dismounting, and delaying a little in this spot, to let the horse take a mouthful of the grass, and deliberating whether, if no habitation appeared, it might not be agreeable enough to take a bed there on the natural sward for the night; having a small quantity of provisions in Duncan's wallet, and a flask of whiskey, which they hastily put up at setting out——

At this instant, an aged and venerable looking man descended from the mountain, with a slender and delicately formed young lad accompanying him, having on his shoulder the carcase of a raccoon, which he held by the hinder feet, and which probably had been cut out of a hollow tree, or taken in a trap, that afternoon.

The captain thought with himself, that he would have no great objection to have an invitation from the old man and his son, as he supposed him to be, to go home with them and lodge for the night; taking it for granted, from the appearance of understanding in the countenance, that they were of a grade of education above the bulk of the people of that country. It so happened, that after explanation had taken place, that he did receive an invitation, and went home with them.

The residence was romantic, situated on a small eminence on the north side of the valley, which, running east and west, the sun struck it with his first beams, and the zephyrs, playing in the direct line of their course, fanned it in the summer heats. A small cascade at a little distance, with a sandy bottom, afforded a delightful bathing-place: and the murmur of the falling water, in the silence of the night, was favourable to sleep.

It was a cabin of an oblong figure, perhaps twenty by twelve feet, consisting of two apartments, the one small, and serving as a kitchen, the other answering the purpose of hall, parlour, and bed-room. The family consisted of the old man, the young lad his son, and an attendant who acted as cook, butler, and valet-de-chambre. Duncan, having rubbed and combed the captain's horse, and turned him loose to eat, was stowed away in the kitchen, while the raccoon was barbacued for supper, and the captain with the host, and his son, were pursuing the explanation of what they respectively were; being yet in a great degree unknown to each other.

It appeared that the old man was the Marquis de Marnessie, who had been an emigrant from France, a short time after the commencement of the present revolution, and had served some time in a corps of ten thousand men, which had been formed of the nobility, under the combined princes, against the republic. Having been under the necessity of abandoning his seats with precipitation, he had been able to carry with him but a few thousand livres. These had been reduced in supporting himself and friends in the service, and he had brought but a few hundred to America. This country he had been led to seek, disgusted with the combined powers, when the stipulations of the convention of Pilnitz began to transpire; and the object appeared to be, not so much to support the monarchy, as to divide the country: chagrined also with that neglect, and even contumely, experienced from the German princes, who appeared to think with contempt of their services, and to repose their confidence alone in their own forces, and discipline.

Coming to America, he had retired from the sea coast, both to be out of the way of the French democrats in the towns, and in order to occupy a less expensive residence. He had found this valley unappropriated by the state, a warrant for an hundred acres of which he obtained from the

land office, at the low rate of fifty shillings; and having cleared a small spot, had made a garden, and cultivated what is called a patch of Indian corn, subsisting and amusing himself and his family, chiefly by trapping and hunting in the neighbouring mountain; wishing to forget his former feelings, and to live upon the earth as regardless of its troubles as if buried under it. His cabin was neat and clean, with flooring of split timber, and stools made out of hewn logs. A few books, and half a dozen small paintings, a fusee, and an old sword, being the only ornament of its walls.

Having supped on the barbacued raccoon, they took bed upon the planks, each furnished with a blanket, being the only matrass or covering with which they were provided.

The evening had passed in conversation, and a kind of sympathy was felt by the marquis towards the captain, considering him in the light of an emigrant with himself, having been obliged to abscond from sans culotte rage, and popular fervour, which, though not of the same height with that in France, yet was of the same nature, and different only in degree.

The invitation was given by the marquis, and accepted on the part of the captain, to remain in that retirement for some weeks, until matters were composed, and it might be safe for him to take his way again through the country, and return to his dwelling. Duncan took care of the horse, chopped wood, carried water, and assisted the French valet to barbacue raccoons, young bears, squirrels, pheasants, partridges, and other game, that the traps, or fusee and dog, of the emigrant and his son, accompanied by the captain, could procure. Much conversation passed in the mean time, on the affairs of France; sometimes sitting on a rock on the side of the mountain, or under the shade of an elm tree in the grassy valley; or walking out to set a trap; at other times, in an evening in the cabin, when they had returned from the labour or amusements of the day.

CHAPTER XXII.

Agreeable conversation between the captain and the marquis, which is disturbed by alarming rumours.

It was in one of those temperate and pleasant evenings which in this climate succeed the autumnal equinox, that the marquis and the captain walking out together, the subject of the conversation happened to be the right of the people of France to overthrow the monarchy, and establish a republic. The captain had read the pamphlet of Thomas Paine, entitled "Rights of Man," and was a good deal disposed to subscribe to the elementary principles of that work; a leading doctrine of which is, "that at no time can the pact or customs of ancestors forestall or take away the right of descendants to frame whatever kind of government they think proper."

"This must be understood," said the marquis, "like most other general propositions, with some limitation or exception; or at least some explanation, before the mind of all, at least of mine, can acquiesce in the deductions. It may easily be supposed that I am not a proper person to canvass this subject, having been of that class of men who had all to lose, and nothing to gain, by a revolution in the government of the country where I lived. Nevertheless, if my feelings do not deceive me, I ought not to be considered as a person under great prejudices. For it seems to me, that I am detached from the world, and never more expecting to be restored to my country, so as to live in it with reputation, or even with safety, I am like a person with all his senses awake, and within a few seconds of death; his vanity is asleep, his pride is gone; he looks back upon his pursuits, and his hopes, with true philosophy, and makes a proper estimate of all the acquisitions, and all the enjoy-

ments of life: or rather, I may be thought to resemble a disembodied spirit, who, no longer capable of enjoying the false glories of life, is not liable to be seduced by the appearance of them. The shades of departed men in the elysian fields as imagined by the ancients, and painted by the poets, cannot be more abstracted from former impressions, than I feel myself to be, in this kind of elysian and posthumous valley. When I converse with you who have come from the world, and may return to it, I am in the situation of the Grecian worthies defunct of life, when visited by Ulysses. Achilles candidly acknowledged to him, that he had rather live as a hired labourer with a poor man, who had little food, than to rule over all the ghosts. I will in like manner declare, that such is my predilection for my country, and that ravishing delight which I would take, in breathing my native air, and seeing my native soil, looking at the buildings which were accustomed to strike my eyes in better days, that I would prefer fishing along the streams for my precarious and daily food, or digging the soil, and procuring my subsistence with a peasant, than to be the president of the United States, deprived of the countenance of my countrymen, and the view of that other heaven, and that other earth. The contempt that I may have entertained, or at least the undervaluing inseparable from my situation, which I may have felt, for the undignified with nobility amongst us, is totally gone. I could lay myself down with the meanest plebeian, and call him my brother. Descent, title, and fortune, have disappeared from the eyes, and I see nothing but man, in his rude and original excellence, as a conversing and sociable animal. Nevertheless, even in this state of mind, I cannot wholly subscribe to the analysis of Paine. Let us examine his position.

"The new born infant has a right to a support from its ancestor, until it shall be of years to provide for itself; but has it a right to his estate after it shall have been of a mature

age? surely not a natural right; nor a right sanctioned in all cases even by the municipal law; for the ancestors may alien, or devise away from the heir. But if he claims as heir, or takes by devise, is it not under the artificial establishment of society, that he makes this claim, or takes this gift? shall he not then take this estate subject to that government in the principle and form of it, under which this estate was acquired, and by which it is preserved to him? The civil relations that exist from the aggregate to him, are a law, as well as the relations that exist from individuals. Suppose all minors of age at one hour, and all ancestors just departed at the same moment, there might be some reason then in supposing that the descendants were not bound by the former establishments, but were at liberty to introduce others; or, the descendants emigrating, and occupying a new soil, are certainly at liberty to frame new structures. But not while a single ancestor exists, who has an interest in the old mansion-house, and is attached to the building, however Gothic; because the ancestor had this right before the minor was born, and his birth could not take it away. I say, then, contrary to the principle of Paine, that our ancestors having established an hereditary monarchy, it is not in the power of the descendants to change it. They may remove from under it if they will, but not pull the house down about our heads.

"The early feudalist, whose acquisitions and possessions of them, depended on that military subordination and tenure which gave rise to the system, when he took his place in it either as a chieftain, or a vassal, submitted to it; he had his voice in this social compact; and shall his descendants be allowed to unhinge the tenure, and change the fabric which was not of his building? shall he claim the advantages of that species of government to which he has been introduced, and not submit to the inequalities of it? or shall it be changed but by universal consent? shall even a majority

change it? No—because each individual is, in the language of the law, a joint tenant, and has a right, *per my* and *per tout*, in the part, and in the whole. It can no more take away the right an individual has in the system of government, than the right he has in his estate, held by a prior law. Upon investigation, it will be found more a question of power than of right; just as in these woods, I take the raccoons and rabbits; not that I conceive myself to have any right to have come from the banks of the Loire to make these depredations, but that having come, I have the skill to do it."

The captain was led to smile at these last words of the marquis, as savouring of misanthropy, equalizing the case of brute animals with men. "I can easily excuse," said the captain, "this sally of your mind, and must resolve it into the wounds your feelings have received from the reverse of your fortune, and the dreadful outrages which have taken place, in the course of the revolution, from the fury of the human mind. Nor would I call in question wholly the justness of your position, with regard to the right of changing a mode of government. Nevertheless, it may admit of some discussion in the generality, and be so bounded as to leave some great cases out of the rule. I grant you that the descendant, on the principle of natural right, can claim nothing more of the personal labour of the ancestor, or of his estate than support, until he shall be of an age which gives strength of mind and body to enable him to provide for himself. But does he not possess by his birth, a right to so much of the soil as is necessary for his subsistence? you will say he may emigrate. But suppose all adjoining known lands already peopled; he cannot emigrate without committing injustice upon others. He must therefore remain. How to preclude him from all right to think or act in affairs of government, with a view to improve, and to improve is to change, is restraining the mind of man in a particular ca-

pable of the greatest extent, and upon which depends, more than on all things else, the perfection of our species. I would put it upon this point; is it conducive to an amelioration of the state of life, and likely to produce a greater sum of happiness, to innovate upon established forms, or to let them remain? It is true, indeed, that when we consider the throes and convulsions with which a change in government is usually attended, it ought not to be lightly attempted; and nothing but an extreme necessity for a reform can justify it. It is almost as impossible, comparing a physical with a moral difficulty, to change a government from despotism to liberty, without violence, as to dislodge a promontory from its base, by any other means than mining and gunpowder."

"Of that I am convinced," said the marquis; "for there never was a people more generally disposed to a degree of reform, than the people of France, at the commencement of the revolution. The writings of philosophers had pervaded the minds of the highest orders, and it had become the passion of the times to lean towards a certain extent of liberty. It had become the wish of the good, and the humour of the weak, to advance the condition of the peasantry. As an instance of this, I myself had written a book, entitled "*Sur le bonheur de la campagne*," with the express view of depicting the depressed situation of the common people in the country, and the means of raising them from that condition.

"But a reform once begun, it was found impossible to arrest it at a middle point. It may be resolved into a thousand causes; but the great cause was, the insatiable nature of the human mind, that will not be contented with what is moderate. For though there were doubtless a considerable portion of the nobility who were opposed to any diminution of their power and pageantry; yet, on the other hand, as great an evil existed in the wish of extreme equality in others; or rather, a wish to bring all things to a perfect

level, that from thence they might begin to ascend themselves. There began to be insincerity on the part of the court, and licentiousness on the part of the people; and finally a contest, lurid and dreadful, like the column of dark clouds edged with blue, and fraught with lightning—a contest so terrible that I have thought myself happy in escaping from it, even though I have been obliged to call upon the rocks and the mountains to cover me in this valley."

The above is a sample of those conversations which took place between the marquis and the captain, during the space of some weeks which the captain spent in this rural and obscure recess. In the mean time, the count, the son of the marquis, had been despatched occasionally through the settlement and to the village where the late outrage had been perpetrated, in order to learn what had become of the revenue officer, as also to ascertain the state of the public mind, and when it might be safe for the captain to show himself in public, and return by the main road to his habitation.

Nothing had been heard of O'Regan, but accounts the most unfavourable were obtained of the disposition of the people. The flame of opposition had spread generally, and the whole country appeared to be involved in a common burning. They had demolished all inspection houses, far and near; assembled in committees, and framed resolves of the utmost violence. The obnoxious were banished; and even the lukewarm in the cause were threatened with the destruction of their goods, and injury to their persons. There had been a talk of guillotines like those in fashion at that time in France, and of cutting off heads of aristocrats and traitors.

The captain was not a little alarmed at these proceedings; but the marquis, who had seen the machine of the guillotine in actual operation, was seized with panic; and he almost imagined to himself, that he saw it moving of its own accord towards him; his reason told him, that it was

not at all improbable but that it might be brought to approach him very speedily, as the same sans culotte anarchy and violence began to show itself in these regions, as had broke out in France.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Which treats of what became of O'Regan, being the most marvellous chapter in this history.

It may now be time to make some inquiry after the unfortunate officer, who had been treated in the manner we have mentioned.

The evening the outrage had been committed on him, he had run several miles, naked as he was; if a man may be said to be naked, that is invested with a layer of viscous fluid, and the adhesion of birds, feathers to cover him; through much danger from the country people, who were ill-affected to his office. He had at length gained the recesses of a forest, where he thought himself safe for the night, until near morning, when the barking of wolves at no great distance, as he thought, led him to apprehend the being devoured by these animals, who might take him for an object of their prey. To escape this, he had thought it advisable to climb a spreading beech tree, and there remained until after sunrise, when two hunters coming along at that early hour, descried him amongst the branches; and not without much surprise and astonishment. At first they took him for a bear; but seeing the feathers, it was decided that he must be of the fowl kind. Nevertheless his face and form, which appeared to be human, made him a monster in creation, or at least a new species of animal, never before known in these woods.

They at first hesitated whether to take him down by a

shot, or to pass on and leave him unmolested. But at length it was determined to pass on for the present, as if they had not seen him, and to rouse the settlement, to take him with dogs, and the help of men. It would be a valuable acquisition to have such a creature to carry to the great towns for a show. It might be a fortune to a man. This being resolved on, one of the hunters was despatched for assistance, while his comrade, in the mean time, had taken his station on an eminence at no great distance, to watch the motions of the wild creature, and give information of his change of situation. The officer, in much melancholy of mind had descended from the beech tree, and was sitting on the point of a rock, looking about him like a bald eagle, when a couple of stout fellows came suddenly behind him, with the folds of ropes, and entrapped his body, so that he could not move his arms, which they took to be wings, but was as tightly laced as a ship's yard arm, when the sails are furled to prepare for a tempest.

On the part of Teague there was little or no resistance, but supposing that he had again fallen into the hands of his tormentors, he made the most piteous supplications, at one moment declaring that he was no excise officer, and the next professing his willingness to surrender the commission. The news of the recent outrage had reached the hunters, for it had flown, as it were, on the wings of the wind, far and wide, and they were now satisfied that their captive was no other than the obnoxious officer; but they were determined not to lose entirely their speculation. After consulting among themselves, it was agreed that one of their number, who had a little more ingenuity than the rest, should act the part of keeper. This one, after the others had withdrawn, addressed himself to Teague in the fol lowing manner:—"Mr. Exciseman, I know who you are, but don't be afeard, I'll be your friend, but mind and do just as I tell you to do. Now, don't for your life open your

mouth to speak a word, for then they'll know directly, and you will be hanged in a jiffy. But if you keep a quiet tongue in your head, in a few days may be it will be in my power to get you off. We took you for a wild varmint. Now you must cut up a little before the people what comes to see you; we'll make money by the job, and we'll let you in as partner."—"Now, will you be after showing me for a wild baste, or a turkey buzzard," said Teague; "and sure dat's worse again dan tar and fedders. Oh! oh! dat de blood of de O'Regan's should come to dis. If I was only safe at home, de divil might take all your offices, and de country too."—The keeper told him he had no other choice but to do this, or be hanged by the mob. The unfortunate exciseman was forced to comply, but inwardly resolving to make his escape at the first opportunity.

The others, in the meantime, had hastily constructed a rude cage, which was put in the bed of a waggon, after which they proceed without delay to a county town, thirty or forty miles off. Here they had hand bills printed, and began to exhibit their captive for a quarter of a dollar to each grown person, and an eighth of a dollar to the children of families whose parents brought them with them.

In a short time, this uncommon creature, as it was thought to be, became the subject of general conversation; and coming to the ears of two members of the Philosophical Society, then in town on their travels in search of curiosities, they requested of the proprietors an opportunity of a leisurely examination of the animal, and paid them a dollar each extraordinary, for this indulgence. The proprietors were disposed, as was natural, to assist with some particulars of fiction, the singular qualities of the animal they had in charge. They related, that when they first saw it, in its flying from the mountain, it was just alighting on the tree top; that having taken it, they had at first offered it boiled and roasted flesh, but this it refused; but that at length it

had come to eat flesh both roasted and sodden, with considerable gout, and sometimes even with rapacity.

That when first taken, its cries, or voice, was of a mixed sound, between that of a wild cat and heron; but that it had come to have some imitation of the human voice, and even articulation, and might from that circumstance be probably a species of the parrot.

The philosophers noted all this, and doubtless made a proper use of the particulars, in determining the genus of the animal. For the last thing that a virtuoso ought to question, is the truth of facts. It is by taking facts as granted, that an hypothesis is most easily established.

The transactions of the Society have not yet been published. Nevertheless we have been favoured with the report of the members on this occasion, with leave to publish it, having so immediate a relation to this work. It is as follows:—

"The animal of which an account is now to be given, was asleep when we made our visit; and the keepers were unwilling to disturb him, having been kept awake, they said, too much for some time past, by the frequency of people coming to see him. However, this circumstance gave us an opportunity which we would not otherwise have had, of observing him while asleep. He lay with his head upon his right shoulder, and his hinder legs drawn up to his belly, in the manner of the dog, or bear. The drawing his breath, and his snoring, is that of a man. He has hair upon his head, with a mixture of feathers; but upon his body there is nothing but feathers, not in the manner of other fowls, if fowl this may be called, smooth and clean, but growing through a viscous substance resembling tar, and intermixed with it; in this particular differing from the bird kind in general, who by means of a spinal gland secrete an oily substance, with which they besmear and dress their feathers; for here the oily or viscous substance is itself mixed with

the feathers, and oozing from the skin. Nor are the feathers here, as in fowls in general, lying all one way, but in various directions, as if nature had given them to sprout out at random. But what is most extraordinary, the stems are frequently protruded, and the downy part inserted in the skin. His hinder legs were covered by pantaloons or trousers, which contributed much to make his appearance human. This, however, might have been a mere trick of the keepers. As there are no scales on the body, or any thing like fins or flippers, we conclude that it is not amphibious. Such were our observations while he lay asleep.

"After half an hour the keepers having awakened him, he got up from his straw by turning on his back, stretching out his fore legs, or wings, if they may be so called, raising himself on his rump, and then by resting on one paw, rising with a slow and easy motion, to his feet. It may seem a catachresis in language to talk of the face of a beast; nevertheless we shall use this phrase; for though in great part covered with feathers, and the same viscous matter with the body, yet in shape it has the appearance of a human face, full as much, or more than the baboon or others of the ape species. It cannot be said to laugh, but rather grin, though once or twice in our presence, you would have thought that it exhibited a dilatation of the oscular muscles, as if attempting to laugh.

"The eye is of a grey colour, and the look wild, but steady, like that of a person under an impression of amazement and wonder. The neck, and the whole form of the body, and even the hinder legs, as far as they can be seen, have a strong resemblance of the human. Were it not for the feathers, a person on a superficial view might mistake the wings for arms, being attached to the body by a shoulder blade, and the claws resembling the fingers of a negro.

"If this animal is to be referred to the quadruped or beast

kind, it would most naturally be classed with the ouran-outang, or wild man of Africa: If with the bird kind, we shall be totally at a loss to assign the genus. For though it has a head and face not unlike the ouzel, or the owl, yet in the body it has no resemblance. Nevertheless we should certainly give it a place amongst fowls, were it not that it has ribs instead of the lamina, or side plates, which are peculiar to the winged race alone: as also, because we have reason to think it has an epiglottis; for the most wonderful fact connected with this nondescript, is, that it actually spoke several words, and even sentences very distinctly, with a pronunciation not unlike that kind of brogue, which we remark in some of the west-country Irish. But for the opinion already adopted by us after the most careful examination, we should be inclined to consider it as a variety of the human species, at least a *lusus naturæ* of the *genus homo*. But from this we are precluded by our reasoning *a priori*. It may also be proper to remark that it appears to want the ingluvies or craw; but has a gizzard, and digests its food by the dissolving power of the gastric juices. Besides, on its head feathers and hair are intermixed in almost equal proportions.

"All things considered, we incline to think that it is an animal of a species wholly new, and of a middle nature between a bird and a beast; yet so widely differing from a bat, as not to be classed with it. Perhaps it should be designated, as *Anthroposornis*, or manbird.

"This discovery leads to new and important considerations. We do not undertake to decide for the Society; but shall venture to suggest some particulars.

"This animal would seem to form the link between the brutal and the human species; being nearer to it in some particulars than the ouran-outang itself; and especially in the evident articulation of certain sounds. Articulation was with the ancients the distinguishing characteristic of the

human kind. The poet Homer has the epithet frequently, *Meropon anthropon*, articulate, speaking men. Yet we find from this discovery, that articulation, at least to some extent, is not peculiar to man alone. This is an incidental characteristic, given by the poet; but the distinguishing mark has been given with more subtilty of observation, by the philosopher Plato; whose definition is that of *Animal bipes implumis;* a two-legged, unfeathered animal: For though it might be contended with some plausibility, that this animal has two legs; yet it is evidently feathered; not indeed with the long and strong plumage of the ostrich, but with the down of a goose, or duck. This animal, like man, has not a tail. Nevertheless it has the os cocygis, or termination of the spinal bone, longer than in man; as was ascertained by one of us, who in the interval of his sleeping, felt his rump. Not that we would draw from this any conclusion in favour of the hypothesis of Monboddo, that men had once tails; but in the scale of animals, there is a gradual nearing of distance, from having long tails, to the having no tail at all.

"The most important inquiry comes now to be investigated, namely, whether this be an animal new to discovery, or actually new to the world, and just lately come into existence in the natural kingdom. No account of it having been heretofore given by any traveller in America, either from the information of the natives, or personal observation of their own, founds a strong presumption that it is of a novel breed of creatures.

"The idea of original production, involves in it the late hypothesis of Macilhattan, in his treatise, *De Seminibus*, that nature has within herself an aboriginal productive power; so that as some animals disappear from the earth, the mammoth for instance, others spring up, that were never known before. Which hypothesis, by the bye, so far as respects the extinction of animals, receives considerable countenance from the ancient relations of the gorgon, the

hydra, and the less remote allusions to winged griffins, and orchs.* If this should be found to be the fact, it may be suggested whether it would be going too far to say, that it might be in the compass of human research to discover the subtil combination of causes and effects, necessary to the production of life, and the formation of a living creature; and that the time might not be far distant, when ingenious chemists might undertake and accomplish the analysis of matter, and synthesis of composition, so as to be able to make animals, to those who should bespeak them; as a workman would make articles of furniture for a hall or assembly room. This would save much expense, in feeding, and providing them for food, or for the purpose of labour and burden. We have thought it sufficient to suggest this, and propose it to the industry and ingenuity of the learned in philosophic science."

The philosophers now began to traffic with the proprietors, proposing a purchase of the curiosity in their possession, the revenue officer, in the cage just by, raised what is called the Irish howl in a most distressing manner; recollecting what the captain had told him on a former occasion, with regard to the use to which they would apply him, when they should get him in their power.

"God love your souls, my dear masters," said he, "dat have taken me in de wild woods, I care not what you make o'd me, a wild baste, or a crow, or a fish, while I get good mate to ate, and clane straw to ly down upon; but for de sake o' de holy faders, dont sell me to dese filosophers, dat will cut me up as you would a dead cat, and put my skin upon a pitchfork, just to plase demselves; rader let me stay where I am, and show me to de good paple, dat gape and stare, but keep deir teet in deir mouts, and luke foolish, but don't affer to bite."

* When this was written, (1794,) the wonderful discoveries and theories of geologists, were unknown.

The philosophers assured him, that his apprehensions were without foundation; having not the least intention of dissecting, at least until he died a natural death. Doubtless, it might be an object, to ascertain from the internal structure of the body; nevertheless they were persuaded, the Society would content themselves with the observations drawn from external structure, at least for some time. On this, turning round to the proprietors, they resumed the conversation relative to a purchase; the supposed animal continuing to vociferate and roar horribly.

In the mean time, the affair of this wild man, beast, bird, fish, or whatever it was, made a noise in the town; the people who had come to see it, being divided in opinion; some believing it to be a monster, or new animal in creation; others disposed to be of opinion, and others confidently asserting, that it was a real man.

The chief justice, then on his circuit, hearing of it, and thinking it possible that it might be a man, resolved, *ex officio* to act in the case; the liberty of the citizen, the most precious of his rights, being involved. Such a violation should not be permitted for a moment in a country having a constitution and laws. Accordingly, he had issued his writ of habeas corpus to the keepers, commanding them forthwith to bring before him, the man in their possession, and to assign the cause of this detainer. The officer came forward at the moment the keepers were about to close the bargain with the philosophers, and showed his writ. They were obliged to obey the great prerogative writ, which no authority in the state, no plea of necessity, can suspend, or deny. They were compelled without delay to appear with their charge before the chief justice and associate judges, in open court then sitting, alleging property in themselves by caption, and employing counsel to support this allegation.

The court having assigned counsel to support the habeas corpus, the argument began: Counsellor Patch first.

"May it please your honours,"

"I take this to be an animal in which there can be no property, absolute or qualified, being *feræ naturæ*, or of an untamed nature, such as a panther, or a buffalo; of which it is laid down no larceny can be committed, as not being the subject of property. 4 Black. 235; referring for authorities to 1 Hal. P. C. 511, Fost. 366, 1 Hawk. P. C. 94." Here Counsellor Patch read the authorities.

Counsellor Catch in reply: "But by the same authorities, it is laid down, that animals *feræ naturæ*, or wild, when reclaimed, or confined, and may serve for food, may be the subject of property, as deer enclosed in a park, fish in a trunk, or pheasants, or partridges in a mew."

"But is it conceded, that this animal can *serve for food?*" rejoined Counsellor Patch.

"The question to be considered in the first place," interrupted the chief justice, 'is whether this creature is of the brutal or human kind.' Speak to that."

Counsellor Scratch, as *amicus curiæ* observed, "that this being a question of fact was most properly determined by a jury."

Counsellor Patch thought not, as the trial by inspection in the case of infancy, which was within the province of the court, was analogous to this. The court were of opinion with Counsellor Scratch, and proposed to the counsel for the thing in custody, to bring a writ *de homine replegiando*, or *replevin*, for the body of a man, as the proper writ to bring the case before a jury; or that an issue might be made upon the return to the habeas corpus, by consent; and in that shape let it be tried. It was agreed; property pleaded, the issue made up, and the jury about to be empannelled.

Counsellor Patch under the principle of an alien having a right to a jury *de mediatatæ linguæ*, demanded, that the jury should consist of one half beasts.

Curia advisari vult, and in the mean time desired the counsel to search for precedents. No instance was found of the jury *de mediatatæ linguæ* being carried so far as this, and the motion was overruled.

The jury being now sworn, the counsel for the keepers offered the two members of the Philosophical Society, who had examined him, to establish his brutality; this evidence was offered on the principle, that it was peculiarly within the province of their studies to ascertain a point of this nature, and were therefore the proper witnesses, as in a case within the custom of merchants, individuals of this occupation are usually called. According to the maxim of the civil law, *Unicuique, in arte sua, perito credendum est.*

Exception to this evidence, that they were interested, having had an eye to the purchase of this thing, and actually in negotiation for it.

The objection was overruled, as going to the credibility, not the competency.

The witnesses were clear that this thing was not of the human race, though as to what class of brute animals it was to be referred, they were not yet prepared to decide.

To the weight of this evidence Counsellor Catch opposed the evidence of nature itself; the thing had a human voice and speech, that of a west-country Irishman; no instance of which was to be found in any natural historian that had ever written. He would call upon the gentleman to produce any authority to that effect.

Counsellor Patch was not prepared with an authority to prove that beasts had been found that could speak Irish; but that it was no uncommon thing in early ages, and in many countries, for beasts to speak some language; such as Latin, Greek; for which he might refer the gentleman to the Æsopi Fabulæ, or those of Phedrus; nor was he without an authority at hand, to prove that even in more modern times, there were many beasts who could speak English;

this authority was that well known book, The History of Reynard the Fox; which he now produced, and from which he read passages.

The court thought the authority in point, and the evidence not to be got over, and directed the jury to find accordingly; which they did, in favour of the keepers, and the habeas corpus was dismissed, and the thing remanded into custody.

The members after this, struck a bargain the more easily with the keepers, as they had been a good deal alarmed at the risk they had run of having this property taken from them. It was determined by them to send it without delay to some of the foreign societies, where it would undergo a more perfect examination. The preference was given to the societies in France; and it was accordingly shipped in a brig of Blair M'Clenachan, that was bound to Nantz. At this place on coming ashore, the tar and feathers having by this time nearly disappeared, the natural man once more shone forth; but his only article of clothing being in a very imperfect state, he was mistaken for a *sans culotte;* the canaille rising, broke the enclosure and let him out, and bore him off in triumph.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The government sends a force to put down the insurrection—The captain comes under suspicion of the military and judiciary, but is acquitted, and returns to his home.

In the mean time the opposition to the excise law, and disturbance in the survey, had alarmed the government. The militia had been called to suppress the insurrection. They had marched, and were within a short distance of the survey.

The captain having heard of this, and believing the army to be within supporting distance, left the marquis, and came

to the village where the outrage had commenced. He was not wanting in explaining to the people, the illegality and great impolicy of their proceedings, as subversive of the government, and destructive of the first principles of republican institutions.

His conduct, nevertheless, had been otherwise understood by the administration, and through misrepresentation he became obnoxious with the army and judiciary. When the troops had attained the point of destination, and the judicial examinations had been set on foot with regard to the conduct of individuals, it was always a principal question, "What do you know of Captain Farrago?" They had heard of his man Duncan, and thinking that he must be acquainted with the secrets of the captain, orders were given to apprehend him, under the idea of a criminal.*

The examinations were conducted with great despatch, many hands making light work, there being a vast number of assistant interrogators, and deposition-takers, in the capacity of journeymen and apprentices. It was a good school for students of the law, and young clerks who came out on the expedition. It is true, they were not very capable of taking the true sense of what was stated in the testimony, nor very careful to take down for and against; but the giving them a habit of asking questions, and spelling words was of more consequence to the public, than the doing justice to people that had lived in a remote corner of the commonwealth.

Duncan having been arrested, was put under guard with several others. When he came to his examination, he was asked the following questions, and made the following answers:—"Are you acquainted with John Farrago?"

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* This chapter is evidently suggested by what had occurred to the author himself, but it is not to be supposed from this, that the character of the captain is drawn from the copy of human nature in the author's own keeping.

"I hae a short acquaintance since I hae been in his service, about a month or twa."

"Has he ever conversed with you on the subject of politics?"

"He wad na converse wi' me; he kens I dinna understand them."

"Do you not know him to be an insurgent?"

"Indeed I dinna ken ony sik a thing. I believe he is no just vera right in the head; but I dinna believe he tuk any part in stirring up the insurrection. He has gane about the kintra for some time past, in an odd way, wi' ane Teague O'Regan, an Irishman, that got to be a guager, and came out to this kintra to set up in the business, and made a' this broil; and since he parted wi' him, he has employed me in the like capacity, no much to my profit, if I am pursued, and put in fear o' my life and to hide three weeks in a glen for fear o' the mob, and now to be hanged for ha'ing been in the kintra; and what is mare, to be made a witness against the captain, when I hae nathing to say o' him. The deel tak me, gin I swear a word to wrang my conscience. That is the short and the lang o' it. Sae ye need say na more about it, but gae to the examination o' some other body, for I hae told ye a' that I hae to say about it."

Duncan was dismissed; and the captain himself, falling into the hands of an assistant examiner of sense, his account and explanation was understood, and he was acquitted from the suspicion of having swerved from the duty of a good citizen; after which he returned to his own home, where we shall leave him for the present.

CHAPTER XXV.

The author holds a friendly conference with the reader—He denounces ambition as the bane of the republic.

And now, gentle reader, perhaps you may be inclined to ask the author, of what use the greater part of this book? Some things may have a moral, and may carry instruction to the mind; but a great part can have no meaning or effect, farther than to raise a laugh, or to make a person smile for a moment. That itself is something; and may conciliate the reader to what is more solid. An ingredient, not in itself savoury, may give a relish to substantial good. Assafœtida may give an agreeable flavour to a beef-steak.

It may argue a light airy mind in the writer; and yet these things are sometimes the offspring of a mind far from being at ease; on the contrary, it is to get ease, and allay pain.—Pain of mind is relieved by an abstraction of solid thought. The early paroxysm of deep grief may be incompatible with a playful fancy; but gradually and insensibly, the heart-ache may be cheated of its sensations. What else effect has conversation, or music? Neither of these can assuage great pain, or torture; but will be felt to alleviate more or less the pangs of body, or mind. The mind is prevented from corroding or from gnawing upon itself. We use laudanum to allay acute bodily pains; and it gives a pleasing delirium, and insensibility for a time. But in the case of mental suffering, it is much safer to attack the imagination by an intellectual paregoric. There is less danger that the use will grow to excess, and induce habit.

Scarron wrote his comical Romance under great bodily pain. But ease to the mind has been more frequently sought by the amusement of writing; and the reading of light and amusing productions must have a similar effect. It is a

fortunate thing for the writers, that it keeps off hunger: for many of them in the garrets of cities, if we may believe themselves, while they lived, or their friends after they were dead, are reduced to short commons. Certain it is, that the occupation of the mind saves food. Literary men, are in general but small eaters. The spirits are exhausted in the thought of the brain, and are less active, in the juices of the stomach. So that from a man's eating I can give a pretty good guess, whether he thinks, or speaks most.

But it may be said, this book might have been written, from the motive suggested; but why let it go to the press? Because there is a pleasure in seeing what you have written appear in a book; and the correcting the proof sheets as you go along, pleases. It is on the same principle that the child is delighted with its baby-house; the grown person with the gratification of his fancy in architecture or gardening. All the objects of men are, in great part, to please the imagination. Utility is but one half. I admit at the same time, that he who comprises both, hits the nail on the head, and carries all votes. But it is even something to attain one of these. And moreover, it was natural for the author to suppose, that some readers might be found, who would derive a similar gratification in reading this book, that it afforded him in writing it; and thus, like charity, bestowing a double blessing. He was aware, however, that there are some prudish, self-conceited, or hide-bound people, who will pronounce the whole to be but fudge and nonsense, and who will toss the book aside at once. Such readers may remind us of the foolish bird in the fable, who contemptuously throw away the gem which he found while scratching on the dunghill. A wiser being, may not only discover the gem, but turn it to his advantage.

But why not cast the salt of your pleasantry upon some substantial food to the mind of a young person, and not upon vapour, which constitutes little nourishment? You

would seem to be a moralist; and to have some knowledge of practical philosophy. Hence we should expect in your page, observations conducive to regulate life, and to form manners. If for instance you had taken a youth from his early age, and conducted him to manhood, insinuating by example, or precept the best lessons, it might have been a school book.—I answer; there has been a great deal in this way already; and my mind led me more to give lessons to grown people. Were I to set myself about such a work as is suggested, I do not know that I could mend the matter. —I believe I would change a little the system of education in one particular, but it might not be for the better. As already hinted by some things put into the mouth of the captain, I could make it a principal matter to form the heart to *a republican government*. ~~And in order to this, keep out of view all that nourishes ambition, the poison of public virtue.~~ "In honour preferring one another," is an apostolic, and Christian injunction. But it is as wise in philosophy, as it is true in religion. Honour is the principle of monarchy, ~~distinction of rank, titles, dignities. In the American republics, we retain~~ yet a great deal of the spirit of monarchy. The people are not aware of the *phraseology* itself, in some instances. When an individual solicits a vote, his language is that he will *serve* the people. They take him at his word, and when he is sent to a public body, he is called their *servant*. He goes farther himself, and will talk of the *majesty* of the people.

No disgrace is supposed to attach itself to the soliciting votes, any more than petitioning the *monarch* for a place. This is not in the spirit of a republic. It is contrary to the nature of it; it is subversive of it. But I would begin at the foundation, by inculcating the folly of coveting a public appointment. The private interest of a man is better cultivated by staying at home. The first lesson I would give to a son of mine would be to have nothing to do with public business,

but as a duty to his country. To consider service in civil life, no more to be desired than service in *the military*. In this last, there is danger of rheumatism, and ague; or of a wound, or of death in battle; but in civil trusts, there is danger of obloquy and disrespect.

But an individual that accepts a trust is no more a *servant*, than the workman I contract with to build me a house. He is an agent, a delegate, a commissioner. Nor is a house of representatives *the people* any more than the executive is their representative. Nor can *majesty* be predicated of the people. It is a monarchical phrase, and I would not apply it to them, although they are the only true and legitimate source of political power. Those who say to them, *vox populi vox dei*, offer up an incense of flattery, as impious as the worshippers of the Cæsars. They should be warned to beware of flatterers, whose object is not to serve them, but themselves. The demagogue in a democracy, and the courtier in a monarchy, are identical. They are the same, plying the same arts in different situations.

But take away the spring of ambition; that is, distinction, and preference; and you relax exertion; you increase indolence. I grant it. But it saves the heart.—There may be less eminence; but there will be more goodness. It is on this principle that I condemn the distribution of honours in academies. It is beginning by corrupting the affections. It is planting the poison weed of *ambition;* the upas-tree that taints the breeze, and kills the visitant. I shall have accomplished something by this book, if it shall keep some honest man from lessening his respectability by pushing himself into public trusts for which he is not qualified; or when pushed forward into public station, if it shall contribute to keep him honest by teaching him the folly of ambition, and farther advancement; when in fact, the shade is more to be coveted, and the mind, on reflection, will be better satisfied with itself, for having chosen it. This is in great part, the

moral of this book; if it should be at all necessary to give a hint of it. Will not an honest man feel compunction, when after some experience, he comes to look back, and see the mischief he has done in a public station; sapped, perhaps the foundations of the constitution; misled by the ambitious; when at the same time, he thought he was establishing the republic? Understanding is therefore requisite; not *common sense* merely; but knowledge of the subject. But what is knowledge without integrity? And how can there be integrity, where there is ambition? Is there not the ambition of doing good? I do not call that ambition. The praise of doing good? I do not even like the word, praise. I would say the *pleasure* of doing good. For it is the greatest possible pleasure to a mind rightly informed; properly cultivated, to have done good. A consciousness of this, consoles under public obloquy, and ingratitude. And so, gentle reader, FAREWELL.

END OF MODERN CHIVALRY.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE,

LATE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

Hugh Henry Brackenridge, (or Breckenridge, as the name is most usually spelled,) was born near Campbletown, in Scotland, in the year 1748, and was brought to America by his parents, at five years of age. His father was a poor farmer, with only sufficient means to pay for the passage of his family: and this he could not have accomplished but for the sale of some extra clothing on his arrival.

The barrens of York county, in Pennsylvania, and the adjacent part of Maryland, eighty years ago, were pretty much in the same state of population and improvements, as our most remote settlements at the present day. Mr. Brackenridge's father required the assistance of all his children on the small farm which he leased; yet, like the Scotch in general, he neglected no opportunity in his power of giving the best education to his children. Hugh was sent to the country school in the neighbourhood, and was soon remarked for great vivacity and aptitude for learning; the teacher even complained that he discouraged his other scholars. The pursuit of learning soon became a passion in which he manifested that intense ardour and perseverance which characterized him through life.†

It was the good fortune of the subject of this notice, to find a friend in the clergyman settled in the neighbourhood. This benevolent person, seeing the passion for learning manifested

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* This was originally published in the "Southern Messenger."

† It is worthy of remark that a number of distinguished men rose up in the same neighbourhood; we may name James Ross of Pittsburgh, John Rowan of Kentucky, and John M'Millan of Cannonsburgh.

by a poor boy of obscure parentage, took pleasure in rendering him every assistance in his power. A few lessons at long intervals sufficed to enable the willing pupil, by dint of application, to master the Latin, and make some progress in the Greek, under every disadvantage, before he reached his thirteenth year. The Saturday evening was the usual time for receiving instruction, for which he performed various little offices in return. At home, by means of the dim light made by chips and splinters, he conned over his book, or books; for he rather devoured than studied them in the ordinary way. It must be confessed, however, that Hugh was not as highly praised for his diligence at out-door work. But he was not discouraged by his parents. His mother, who was a woman much superior in intellect and education to the generality of persons in her circumstances, began to look forward with fond hope to seeing her favourite son one day a minister of the Gospel.

His great difficulty was to procure books. By some means he had become the master of an Horace—every word and line of which he had conned over. This treasure was one day unfortunately forgotten on a stump, and chewed up by a literary cow. The loss was regarded by Hugh as the keenest distress he had yet experienced. He was known to go twenty, or even thirty miles, to procure the loan of a book or even of a newspaper; starting on Saturday night, and returning to his work on Monday morning. Fogg's Manor, at the distance of thirty miles, was usually the scene of these excursions.

Great ardour in any pursuit will almost create for itself the means of success; but when sustained by genius, all difficulties give way before it, and impossibilities no longer exist. Once, meeting with a young man who had made some progress in mathematics, but was not acquainted with the dead languages, he struck up a bargain, mutually advantageous, bartering a portion of Latin and Greek for the acquirements of the other.

The free school on the Gunpowder Falls, in Maryland, being without a teacher, he presented himself at the age of fifteen for the situation. The trustees were not less surprised at the application, than by the qualifications of the applicant; and after some hesitation, gave him the place. This situation not only required scholarship, but called for a determined spirit—for several of his scholars were young men—at least several years older than himself. One of them attempted to overturn the authority of the youthful teacher by force, who, seizing a brand from the fire, knocked the rebel down, and spread terror around him. An investigation was the consequence; and Hugh was confirmed in his office with honour. He continued here about three years, permitting no moment to escape without improving himself in knowledge; and his opportunities were now

considerably enlarged. On one occasion, he shut up his school for a few days to attend a celebrated trial for murder at Annapolis; and, when he heard the great orator Jennings, he exclaimed, like the celebrated Italian artist—*soi anche pittore!* I too am a painter!

He remained at this place until he had exhausted the sources of learning near him; and his thirst for knowledge urged him to seek more copious streams. At the age of eighteen, with the scanty pittance saved by him at the obscure school where he had taught, he boldly repaired to Princeton College, and presented himself to the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon, then its president. This was about the year sixty-six or seven of the last century. He agreed to teach two classes, on condition of being permitted to pursue his studies in the higher branches.

At this time there was a number of young men of the highest promise at this institution, and who afterwards ranked among the most distinguished public men of this country: the Livingstons of New York, Luther Martin, James Madison, and a number of others, who afterwards became eminent.

While at college his ambition urged him to excel, if possible, in every department of learning: but he acknowledged that he had no great aptitude for mathematics; and although he courted the Muses, and in conjunction with the poet Freneau, his classmate, composed a poem on "The Rising Glory of America," he confessed that on his part it was a task of labour, while the verse of his associate flowed spontaneously. His task lay in belles lettres and general literature; in languages, philosophy, moral science, or ethics: in wit and eloquence, he stood unequalled. He could reason well, had a fine voice, a fine person, and an eagle eye; the last are physical gifts which set off his accomplishments to the greatest advantage, and are almost indispensable to the public speaker. The narrowness of his pecuniary circumstances often depressed him. He used to relate an anecdote of Dr. Witherspoon, which is worth preserving. Happening to speak of his limited means and want of friends, he quoted this line from Juvenal—

Haud facilis emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat res angusta domi.

"There you are wrong, young man," said the doctor; "it is only your *res—angusta—domi—men*, that do emerge." On one occasion, having prepared a public address for a young gentleman, whose situation in life was the reverse of his own, and which address gained much applause, he found in his apartment shortly after, a handsome suit of clothes, with a cocked hat—at that day very commonly a part of a gentleman's equipment.

After having graduated, he remained sometime as a tutor; and engaged in the study of divinity, until licensed to preach, when he was invited to take charge of an academy on the Eastern shore of Maryland, with a handsome salary. He continued here during several years until the breaking out of the American Revolution, in the midst of a wealthy and highly polished society, greatly respected as a man of genius and scholarship; while his wit, and superior social and conversational powers, always rendered him a welcome guest. Into the minds of his pupils he infused a love of learning; and used to speak with the pride of a Porson, of the Winders, the Murrays, the Purnells, and others, who were afterwards distinguished. To this day, there is traditionary remembrance of him in that neighbourhood.

The revolutionary struggle now monopolized the public attention. Mr. Brackenridge took an early interest on the side of those who might be considered his countrymen; for, having arrived in America when a child, all his feelings were naturally on the side of the country in which he had passed his infancy and received his education. These were quite enthusiastic, as is proved by the dramatic piece written by him for his scholars, and which after due preparation they exhibited before their admiring parents; it was called Bunker Hill, composed shortly after the battle, and since published in a miscellaneous volume.

About the year 1776, that of the Declaration of Independence, he left the academy and repaired to Philadelphia, having about a thousand pounds in the current money—but which depreciated so rapidly, that in a short time he was stripped of the labour of years. It became necessary to employ himself in editing a political journal or magazine for his support, and which he conducted with ability. The United States Magazine, which was the name of the periodical, abounded with appeals to American patriotism; and its contents were varied by poetic effusions, and strokes of wit. At one time it contained some severe strictures on the celebrated General Lee, and censured him for his conduct to Washington. Lee, in a rage, called at the office, in company with one or two of his aids, with the intention of assaulting the editor; he knocked at the door, while Mr. Brackenridge, looking out of the upper story window, inquired what was wanting? "Come down," said Lee, "and I'll give you as good a horse-whipping as any rascal ever received." "Excuse me, General," said the other, "I would not go down for two such favours."

In the following year, 1777, he joined the army as chaplain to a regiment, and for a year lived in camp; experiencing the life of the soldiers, preaching to them, and attending them to the battle-field, as in the time of the Scotch Covenanters. His sermons of course were political; six of them were published in a pamphlet and widely circulated. On the 4th of July, 1778,

he delivered a very eloquent oration in the Dutch Reformed Church in Philadelphia, in honour of the brave men who had fallen in the contest. A gentleman, of the name of Hall, of Philadelphia, used to relate the following anecdote. The evening before the battle of Brandywine, in the neighbourhood of which he then lived, a tall man, with a cocked hat and military appearance, came to his house, and, with very little ceremony, requested that his horse might be fed—and said that after taking a walk, he would return to tea. He was then observed to direct his course to a spot from which he could have a view of the American army. The host who was a good whig, suspecting the stranger to be a spy, called in his family and a neighbour who was present; they resolved to examine the saddle-bags, which had no padlock; but these suspicions were soon removed by finding nothing in them, but a pocket bible and a couple of shirts rather the worse for wear. The stranger proved to be the subject of this biography.

Mr. Brackenridge, although licensed to preach, was never ordained, nor formally consecrated to the ministry. As he grew older, he became convinced that his natural temperament called him to the scenes of active life. Besides, he found himself unable to yield a full assent to all the tenets of the church in which he had been educated. He declared that for two whole years, he laboured most sincerely and assiduously to convince himself; but in vain; and he could not think of publicly maintaining doctrines, in which he did not privately believe. On one occasion, in conversation with a Scotch clergyman, he stated his difficulties. The other replied to him, that he was pretty much in the same predicament. "Then, how do you reconcile it to your conscience to preach doctrines of whose truth you are not fully convinced?" "Hut man," said he, "I dinna think much about it—I explain the doctrine, as I wud a system o' moral philosophy, or metaphysics; and if I dinna just understand it noo, the time may come when I shall; and in the mean time I put my faith in wiser men, who established the articles, and in those whose heads are sufficiently clear to understand them. And if we were tae question but ane o' these doctrines, it wud be like taking a stane out o' a biggin; the whole wa' might fa' doon." As this mode of reasoning did not satisfy Mr. Brackenridge, he resolved to turn his attention to the study of the law—a circumstance, to which may be ascribed the unfriendly feeling manifested towards him afterwards by some of the clergy, who looked upon him as an apostate; denounced him as one of the wicked; and which led him, on more than one occasion, to retaliate. His writings display a liberality on the subject of religion, which is thought by some to border on free thinking. It is true, he hated hypocrisy, but

reverenced the Christian religion as taught in the Scriptures; he was only skeptical as to some of the tenets of different sects, and had a fixed aversion to *creeds*, which he said, "are hardly comprehended by the makers themselves, while the precepts of the Gospel are so plain that a child may understand them;" yet he did not pretend to call them directly in question, preferring to pass them in silence, from unwillingness to lessen that general respect for religion and its teachers, which he considered necessary to the well-being of society. Whatever satirical freedom may be discovered in his works, is aimed at certain professors of religion, and not at religion itself, of which he always speaks with respect—frequently referring to the Scriptures, of which he was a perfect master.

Mr. Brackenridge now repaired to Annapolis and placed himself under the celebrated Samuel Chase, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. Having completed his studies, he resolved to seek his fortune west of the Allegheny mountains, as affording a field where his talents could be brought into immediate requisition. He accordingly crossed them in the year 1781, directing his course to the source of the Ohio; where there was, at that time a small village, at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, now the great manufacturing city of Pittsburgh. It was not then the seat of justice of a county, but a part of Westmoreland. He was not long in establishing a reputation in the three counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Washington; and sometime afterwards, when the county of Allegheny was established, he was already at the head of the bar of Western Pennsylvania. There is nothing surprising in this, when we consider the nature of new settlements, where the population are, for the greater part, strangers to each other, and there are no overgrown reputations to overshadow aspiring young men. Besides, Mr. Brackenridge was a man of decided talents, with a commanding person, highly popular manners, and a mind richly stored with various learning. He had a profound knowledge of men; possessed great address; could raise a laugh at pleasure, reason clearly, and make the blood run cold by touches of genuine eloquence. It was remarked that he rarely attempted the pathetic, either because he thought it a proof of weakness, or because it did not accord with his firm and decided character. He was, notwithstanding, a great master of the human passions; and could touch at pleasure, the secret springs by which they are moved.

In the course of a few years, Mr. Brackenridge was elected to the State Legislature, which then sat in Philadelphia;-he took an active part in this body, and delivered a very able speech on the subject of instructing our representatives in Congress, to demand the free navigation of the Mississippi. On this occasion,

he displayed a scope of intellect, which, in the opinion of the best judges, fitted him for a wider sphere of action. Here he had the misfortune to fall out with his colleague—a self-taught man of some sagacity, but a mere popular weathercock—a demagogue, of that species which follows and flatters the ignorance and caprices of the people, without ability or integrity to set them right. Some unguarded expressions derogatory to the people, were carefully treasured up, and enlarged upon by this man to their constituents; and which for a short time served to throw a cloud over the popularity of Mr. Brackenridge. The effect produced by it on his mind, may be slightly traced in "Modern Chivalry."

When the great struggle, for and against, the Federal Constitution, came on, he took an active part—and to use his expression, "fought a hard battle in its defence." Findlay, Gallatin, and others, with whom he afterwards acted in the Western Insurrection, were in the opposition. The parties of federal and anti-federal, ended with the adoption of the Constitution. The original elements of these parties became commingled, after having been distributed like the types of the printer. Luther Martin and Patrick Henry, the most ardent opposers of the constitution, took their stand with the federal administration, under Washington and Adams. Mr. Madison, Mr. Brackenridge, and others, united with Gallatin and Findlay in condemning some of the prominent measures of that administration. Hence, the names of federal and anti-federal, have nothing in common with the subsequent division of parties into federal and democrat, or republican. The names are apt to lead into error those who are not acquainted with the minute history of our political parties.

Mr. Brackenridge prospered in his profession, and in the course of ten or twelve years, laid the foundation of a fortune; married, built a large and commodious dwelling, and was universally respected for his integrity and talents. As is generally the case with popular lawyers, he was looked up to as the champion of popular rights; and was called upon professionally to defend the twelve individuals, indicted for tarring and feathering an exciseman of the name of Graham; and was engaged in the "great case" of the seventy distillers, who were prosecuted for not entering their stills according to law. A popularity of this kind no doubt led to some inconvenience, as it in some measure identified him with opinions and movements which he did not always approve. Neither did he escape those personal rencounters, so apt to prevail in the new settlements, which seem to be the unavoidable consequence of the unsettled and rude state of society and manners. In not less than four or five occasions, he was obliged, in self-defence, to engage in

personal combat; and thanks to a powerful muscular frame, and early training to athletic exercises, came off victorious, except in one instance, when he received a treacherous blow with a club on the shoulder, but stood his ground until others interposed.

Being in the habit of speaking contemptuously of the practice of duelling, and making rather light of the virtue of personal bravery, an idea prevailed with some that he was deficient in courage. Perhaps, induced by this circumstance, a man of a bullying character, to whom he had given offence, had a design of challenging him, in the hope that he would refuse, and by that means afford an opportunity of posting and degrading him in the estimation of the people. This person, consulting with a friend, to whom he communicated his design, was told that he must not count too confidently on what such a man as Brackenridge might do, or might not do, as he was one of those whose course no one could know until determined by circumstances,—and that it might not be safe to rely on his not fighting, notwithstanding his contempt of the practice of duelling. In fact, Mr. Brackenridge was what Carlyle, in his grotesque style, calls a *reality*. On one occasion, a person of the name of Simpson, followed him into the back room of a tavern and drew a small sword; the assailant was instantly levelled with a chair—his sword dashed from his hands, and the "Scribe in blue" (as Mr. Brackenridge called himself in a humorous poem,) seized the "Wight in red" and placed him on the fire, from which he was not rescued without considerable injury to his garments.

We now approach the most important epoch in the life of him, who is the subject of this notice, now in the forty-fourth year of his age. In the lives of most persons, there is a crisis, which, like the turning incident of the drama, fixes the denouement, or catastrophe, and at the same time, serves to develope the character more perfectly, than a mere outline of biography. The epoch to which we refer is the Western, or Whiskey Insurrection, as it is called, in which Mr. Brackenridge took an important, dangerous, but honourable part, although his conduct at the time was misrepresented by his enemies, and was, for a while, misunderstood. He, however, finally triumphed, and lived to see the clouds which lowered over his reputation, scattered and dispersed by truth and justice, although the enmity of individuals, who shall not be named here, continued to attend him. He was not a man to be put down in personal conflicts of any kind, and no one ever sent him an Oliver, without receiving a Roland in return.

Excise laws were particularly odious in Pennsylvania, partly owing to the number of emigrants from Ireland, who brought with them strong prejudices against them; and partly owing to

the first attempt at direct taxation by the British Parliament over the colonies, the most prominent cause of the revolution, being an excise law. After the revolutionary war, the state being pressed for means, laid a duty on distilled spirits, to be collected from the distillers, who were required to enter, or register their stills. This law was soon found to be extremely unpopular; the people would not distinguish between a law of their own legislature, and the attempt to bind them in all cases whatsoever by a legislative body in which they were not represented. The enlightened statesman fixed his eye on the principle, "taxation and representation, inseparable," while the great body of the people looked no higher than the excise, the odious name of the law by which power was manifested to them.

The attempts made to enforce the state excise, only led to open resistance, which the state authority was too weak to put down. The opposition to it was expressed in the same manner as the patriotic opposition to the British Stamp Act; liberty poles were erected, and people assembled in arms, chased off the officers appointed to enforce the law, tarred and feathered some of them, and compelled others to resign. Their object was to compel a repeal of the law, but they had not the least idea of subverting the government. They did not stop to reflect that this was revolution, and not a constitutional mode of procuring the repeal of an odious law, by a lawful expression of public opinion. They only followed, as they supposed, the recent example of the American Revolution; and we should be guilty of great injustice if we were to judge their conduct by the more enlightened ideas on these subjects, which generally prevail throughout our country at the present day. In the Western parts of the state, the violence of opposition to the excise law rose to a higher pitch than in the Eastern, on account of their peculiar situation. Whiskey was almost the only article they could take to market, as they could not descend the Ohio, and there was nothing but a packhorse path across the mountains. The law was therefore partial and oppressive, even as compared to the portion of the state on the East of the mountains.

Their state excise law, after remaining some years a dead letter, was repealed, a circumstance which was not likely to incline the people to submit to a similar law, soon after passed by Congress, at the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. The people throughout the state, at least in the agricultural portions of it, were indignant, and once more raised their liberty poles. In the West, the popular indignation was such, that no one, for some time, ventured to stand up in favour of the law.' There was a peculiar hardship in their situation: almost every considerable farmer was a distiller for

himself and his poorer neighbours, as it was necessary that their surplus grain should be distilled; and besides, as the delinquency of the distillers was only cognizable in the federal court of Philadelphia, a single suit was enough to sink a man's plantation. It was with some difficulty that any one could be found to accept the office of inspector in the Western district, on account of the unpopularity of the law, and of which the representatives in Congress had been instructed by the state legislature to procure the repeal.*

In this inflammatory state of the public mind in the West, all that was necessary was to apply the torch to kindle a blaze. The first outbreak was in the harvest field, after the marshal had served his last process against the delinquent distillers. He was driven off and fired upon; an unpremeditated rising took place for many miles around, and the next day, early in the morning, a mob, led by a man of little note, of the name of Holcroft, (the author of some manuscript pasquinades, stuck up at cross roads, signed "Tom the Tinker,") appeared before the residence of the inspector, seven miles from Pittsburgh. They were fired upon from the negro houses, some of them killed and wounded, on which the party retreated. The day following, a great number of persons assembled at a place called Couch's Fort, some miles from the scene of action. The venerable clergyman of the neighbourhood, Mr. Clark, attempted to dissuade them from acts of violence, but such was the state of exasperation which prevailed, that no attention was paid to his exhortations, although, on other occasions, they were accustomed to show the utmost deference to their spiritual counsellor, as is the case with the Scotch-Irish in general. About five hundred then marched to a second attack, under the command of a Major M'Farlane, who had been an officer of the revolution, and of good standing and character. In the meantime, a re-inforcement of twelve men had arrived at the inspector's from the Pittsburgh garrison, under Major Kirkpatrick, formerly of the army. A deputation was sent with a flag to demand the commission of the inspector; and this seemed to be the object of the assemblage, under the notion, that if deprived of the commission, the officer would be compelled to cease to act as such. The commission was refused, and the attack commenced, and continued but fifteen minutes, when it was thought that a flag had been exhibited from the house, on which Major M'Farlane stepped out with a white handkerchief on the end of a stick.

* The gentleman who did accept, had been highly popular; but lost his popularity in consequence, as he had been previously opposed to the law, and it was alleged that he had accepted on account of the emoluments of office.

He was mortally wounded by a shot from the house. The attack was renewed with fury, and the property burnt down and destroyed, but no one was injured after the surrender; the soldiers, and the volunteers in defence of the place were dismissed, although the conduct of some among the mob, was such as might be expected on such an occasion.

The reader can readily imagine the state of the country, which followed those lawless acts of violence, and the exaggerated accounts which travelled across the mountains. The peaceful citizens in the towns were alarmed; in the country generally the people became infuriated, as is usually the case where blood has been shed; all regular occupation might be said to be at an end, and the course of law completely arrested. Yet nothing like direct treason against the government had entered their minds; they thought only of the bad law, and, as they believed, the bad men who lent their aid to enforce it. Their attachment to the government of the state, and of the union, was not impaired; they had no idea of any thing further than procuring a repeal.

Meetings were held over the whole of the four Western counties, and some of the adjoining counties of Virginia. But the popular phrenzy had not yet found a leader to give it the form of a rebellion, or insurrection, to use the milder phrase adopted at that period. At length a lawyer of the name of Bradford, who resided at Washington, came forward in this character. He was a shallow, vain man, with some talent for popular declamation, but without forecast, without definite plan or object, or capacity to lead and organize; he was merely actuated by the foolish vanity of being for a time a popular idol.

Mr. Brackenridge, thus far, had taken no part in the cause, except in the way of his profession in suits in court; he held, and freely expressed, the same opinions with the people generally, on the subject of the excise laws, as being peculiarly oppressive on the western settlers. On the 21st of July, (1794,) four days after the burning of the inspector's house, he received a note, inviting him to attend a meeting, to be held at the Mingo meeting house. He tore it up, and threw it into the fire-place. Next day, Col. Neville, the son of the inspector, who might be regarded as the officer, called and inquired, whether he had not received a note of invitation to the meeting. Yes, and here are the fragments, producing them from the grate. "Do you go?" "No; I look upon such meetings, after the recent acts, as treason, at least on the part of those who encourage opposition." The inspector declared that he wished him to go; it might do good; he might restrain the people from further excesses; he might point out to them the impropriety of their conduct. From patriotic feelings he was at length persuaded to yield to these

and other solicitations, but on condition that he should be accompanied by four or five of the citizens, the Chief Burgess among the rest, in order to bear witness of his words and actions. This being arranged, he went to the meeting, in the sincere desire of being able to do something to check the progress of violence and disorder. Here was a large assemblage; there seemed to be a solemnity on every countenance; uneasiness, distrust, distance and reserve—and with the most prominent actors in the late riots—anger and desperation, expressed in their looks. There appeared to be two distinct classes of people, or rather a division into two portions; those already involved by participating in the acts of violence, and those not involved. The first, would naturally seek to involve the whole county, for their own security, at least in order to lessen their offence, by implicating a greater number. Col. Cook, a gentleman of fortune, and high standing, was chosen chairman, and Craig Richie, Esq., of Canonsburg, secretary. Bradford, and a person of the name of Marshall, who had been active at other meetings, had at first refused to attend, but were threatened with vengeance if they did not, after having encouraged the people, as was alleged, in the course they had pursued. They were, in fact, not leaders of the mob, but driven before it. The chair was addressed by Benjamin Parkinson, an active leader at the destruction of the office, a man who was for no half-way means. "I wish to know," said he, "whether what we have done is right or wrong, and whether we are to be supported or left to ourselves."

Such an issue was entirely unexpected by Mr. Brackenridge, and he felt an agony of mind; for if he voted on it, he might involve himself in the guilt of treason; or, in the present exasperated state of the people, if in a minority, he might not live to return home. Besides, even if these dangers did not stare him in the face, if he ventured to oppose the majority, his popularity would be sacrificed, of which he could not be insensible, especially as he was at that time before the people as a candidate for Congress, with almost a certainty of being elected. He was also attached to the people among whom he had risen to distinction; he saw among them many personal friends, and he was distressed at the perilous situation in which he saw them placed.

Bradford followed in support of Marshall's resolution, in a violent and intemperate speech; justified all that had been done, and called on the meeting to pledge themselves in its support. After he sat down, a dead silence ensued. There seemed but a moment between treason on the one hand, and popular odium on the other. Every eye was turned to Mr. Brackenridge, who was expected to speak. We shall here use

the words of an eye-witness, Mr. Semple, one of the gentlemen who had accompanied him from Pittsburgh. "Bradford began a most violent and inflammatory oration, in support of Marshall's motion. I observed Mr. Brackenridge, who was seated at the west end of the church, and opposite to the principal part of the Pittsburghers, (seated by the members at the east corner,) in great agitation, often throwing his head down on his hand, in the attitude of study. At length, Mr. Bradford's speech being ended, Mr. Brackenridge advanced nearly to the middle of the house, and opposite the chairman, and began his speech, slowly and irregularly, for the current of the people's prejudices seemed to be strongly against him. He first opened the reasons why the few persons from Pittsburgh came there; they were not instructed, nor had they any delegated powers to agree, or disagree, on any proposition, that might be made; they came only to hear and report. He then took various methods of diverting the attention of the audience from the speech that had preceded his. Sometimes, he would give a sarcastic stroke at the excise, and the inventors of it; and then, tell some droll stories thereto relating, in order, as I apprehend, to unbend the mind of the audience from the serious tone to which it had been wrought up. He viewed the subject before him in various lights; and then entered warmly on his main arguments, which was to dissuade the audience from the first proposition. He told them in direct words, "that he hoped they would not involve the whole country in a crime, which could not be called less than high treason; that this would certainly bring the resentment of the general government on us, and there would be none to intercede. The audience seemed petrified and thunderstruck with such observations; and when he had done speaking, not a person seemed desirous of renewing the argument. Silence ensued for some time, and then the company broke up; some went to drink at the spring, and others, in little knots, or clubs, were scattered over the ground." The foregoing graphic sketch, which gives but a very imperfect outline of the speech, exhibits the genuine orator, and a real occasion for the display of that rare talent. It was no stump speech, nor occasional display; but the fate of the country, and of the speaker himself, depended upon it. His object was to check the progress of the insurrection in the bud, by drawing at once the line between those who were committed, and those who had yet done no criminal act. He acted powerfully on the fears of the latter, by withdrawing the curtain which concealed the gulf before them; he held them up as mediators for their fellow citizens with the general government, and dwelt upon the certainty of an amnesty, or oblivion of the past, by a suitable application to the President, who had uniformly pursued this course, in preference to putting

down opposition to the laws by military force. He ended by recommending a meeting of delegates from every township, which should represent the whole Western country, and urged the propriety of arresting at this point, all further display of forcible resistance to the laws, until the whole West should be consulted.

There were many who were gratified at the course which things had now taken, although no one was willing to acknowledge it; while those who had participated in the recent acts of violence, especially the leaders, were enraged, and manifested it by their looks and gestures. Mr. Brackenridge, and his associates, thought it prudent to withdraw. The meeting re-assembled, but did nothing but adopt the proposition of calling a large meeting of delegates from each township. Mr. Brackenridge was convinced that this proposition, so obviously reasonable, would be adopted, and thus take the business out of the hands of promiscuous assemblages, which were no better than mobs. He was of opinion, that the way to control the people on this occasion, was to contract their power into a delegation, and by condensing this, still further, into a standing committee. It was this course which he afterwards followed up with so much address, and which enabled him, in conjunction with Mr. Gallatin, to put an end to the insurrection before the army had crossed the mountains to subdue it by the bayonet. For the present, Mr. Brackenridge had given a serious stab to his popularity, by his speech. He had made bitter personal enemies among those who had been guilty of open acts of violence; and of course, he must expect to be denounced as a traitor to a cause in which he had never engaged, because he had been willing to unite with them in procuring the repeal of an oppressive law, but never thought of *open resistance*, much less of overturning the government.

An act was perpetrated on the 26th of July, for which it is difficult to assign a sufficiently rational motive; for, instead of strengthening the cause of the opposition to the law, it had a tendency to weaken it, by revolting the minds of the more considerate. This was the robbing the mail by Bradford and Marshall, and some other associates, for the purpose of intercepting the correspondence between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. The only motive for this rash and criminal act, was to find who were their enemies in the town, and what was said of them by those who wrote an account of the recent events, to the government of the state and of the union. They of course could not expect to read any thing in their own favour. Five or six individuals, were, by means of these intercepted letters, singled out as the objects of odium, and denounced as traitors to the popular cause.

A town meeting had been convened in Pittsburgh, and while

thus assembled, a deputation arrived, bringing the mail, and demanding the banishment of the obnoxious persons. It was the unanimous opinion of the citizens that the individuals, thus rendered obnoxious, should bend to the storm for a while, in order to satisfy the people of the country, as the safety of the town might depend on keeping on good terms with them. Some of the individuals were convinced of the prudence of the step, and withdrew of their own accord, some descending the river, others crossing the mountains, and some concealing themselves in the garrison or in the neighborhood, so that it might be given out that they had gone.

In the meantime, Bradford, with four others, addressed a circular, or rather, order, to the colonels of militia in the Western counties, requiring them to assemble in arms at Braddock's field, for the ostensible purpose of pulling down the inspector's office, and banishing the traitors from Pittsburgh. Bradford became alarmed at the boldness of this step, issued countermanding orders, and soon after, at a meeting held in Washington, impudently denied that he had issued the latter, having in the meantime been threatened by his own partizans. Mr. James Ross, then a Senator in Congress, attended the meeting, and endeavoured to dissuade them from going to the assemblage at Braddock's field, but without success, and only proved how little use there was in any direct appeal to their reason; yet Mr. Brackenridge was afterwards censured for resorting to address, and by indirection, to accomplish the objects in which the direct means had utterly failed; and his seeming to fall in with the prevailing humour was adduced as evidence of treason on his part.

The usurped authority of Bradford, in ordering the militia to assemble at Braddock's field, was readily obeyed by the people, and by many of the officers; the few who were averse to go, were either compelled by their men to lead them, or went of their own accord, in order to prevent disorder. There is no doubt that a large portion of the rank and file would consist of persons of that class of frontier settlers, who were ready to join in any mischief, and not unwilling to plunder a little, if an opportunity should offer; many of them, the dregs of a long war, which has its "cankers," as well as a long peace.

The people of the town had reason to be alarmed for their safety; and they were not too certain that "Tom the Tinker" had no allies among themselves. A town meeting was convened. It was admitted that their safety depended on a seeming acquiescence with the views and objects of the country people. Resolutions were passed, and struck off, so as to be distributed in print. In these it was announced that the inhabitants of the town would march out, and join their brethren, at

the place of rendezvous, to carry into effect any measure deemed necessary for the common cause; that they would be watchful of suspicious characters, and send away from among them those unfriendly to the cause; and finally, send delegates to the meeting at Parkinson's ferry.

A committee of twenty members was appointed, to whom the whole management of this delicate business was to be intrusted, and it was agreed, that, for the time, every man was to be an insurgent, and act his part as such, to the best of his abilities. Nothing but this course could have saved the town from destruction. Mr. Brackenridge, although not chairman of the committee, was by general consent invested with the complete control and direction, and was, in fact, regarded and obeyed, as the civic chief; while the militia, which numbered two hundred and fifty, all told, was under the command of General John Wilkins, a high-minded, honourable man.

The committee, without arms, marched into the field in front. The situation of Mr. Brackenridge was critical; he had been highly popular, but in consequence of his course at the Mingo meeting, he had become an object of suspicion to the people, and had made some deadly enemies among the leaders. It was necessary to be bold, and self-possessed; at the same time, to use consummate address. With Parkinson and McFarlane, he was personally unfriendly, and these, after Bradford, were the most popular. The prevailing idea was, that all law was silenced, and that an obnoxious individual might be put to death without accountability.

They were nearly all dressed in hunting shirts, as in their campaigns against the Indians, and amused themselves with shooting at marks, or firing in the air. Great wantonness of mind prevailed, and a disposition to engage in any thing, no matter how extravagant.

Bradford, in a general's uniform, marched in front of a number of battalions, and crossed the river. He advanced to the Pittsburgh committee, spoke to Mr. Brackenridge, and asked whether the obnoxious individuals had been sent away; he replied in the affirmative, and others assented, as it was a part of the system previously arranged. This was a critical moment for him: he was fearful of his reception by Bradford, as he supposed that his safety for the present, at least, depended on it. After this, he ventured to approach a group surrounding Parkinson, saluted them, and was civilly received. Here he sat some time, and talked over recent occurrences; seemed to agree with them, and by degrees, won upon their confidence. Some indiscreet expressions of a young man, of the name of Ormsby, were mentioned to him; he excused him as a rash and foolish young man, not worth their notice. He afterwards learned that

there were at that very time, fifteen men, painted like Indians, in pursuit of Ormsby to assassinate him, and that he had only escaped by fifteen minutes, after having been informed of his danger. James Ross, who resided at Washington, also attended the meeting, more as a looker on, than a participator in it, as he soon found it useless and dangerous to oppose the popular current. In passing Mr. Brackenridge, he said to him, "you have a great deal of subtlety, but you will have use for it all." The latter looked around, and then reproved the speaker for his imprudence; fortunately, there was no one to hear the words, and Ross observed, that he had taken care of that before he ventured to speak. Through the day, he passed from group to group, conversing with them, gradually gaining their confidence. During the night, he fell in with different parties, to all of whom he was known, who now listened to him eagerly, some declaring, that he had regained what he had lost at the Mingo meeting-house. To say that he overacted his part, that is, went too far in affecting earnestness in the cause, it would be necessary to have been on the spot in order to form a correct judgment. Mr. Ross, who was on the spot, bore ample testimony in his justification. Some inquired, "whether the garrison was to be attacked?" "Certainly." "But will it not cost a great many lives to take it; and how will it be done?" "Blow up a bastion with powder—we shall lose a thousand men in killed and wounded; or we may starve them out." The men had no powder excepting that which was in their powder horns, there was not more than one day's provisions to each man, and few were willing to march to the cannon's mouth.

In the morning, a delegation of three from each regiment, assembled as a committee; Mr. Brackenridge was one of them. They retired apart, in order to deliberate. Bradford made one of his violent speeches, and stated the object of the assemblage in arms was to chastise those who were friendly to the excise laws; he then read the letters which had been taken from the mail, and appealed to Mr. Brackenridge to know what had been done with the authors. Mr. Brackenridge endeavoured to excuse them individually, occasionally indulging a humorous stroke at them, to preclude the idea that he was anxious to save them, out of any personal regard. Some of these sarcasms, thrown out as tubs to the whale, offended the self-love of the individuals, who never forgave him for it. Their own dignity or standing was not so free from doubt as to enable them to afford any diminution of it, by a witticism, or a joke. He found he was going too far, when he heard some one exclaim, "do you mean to excuse all those persons?" Turning to Bradford, he said to him, in an undertone, "do you not know, that you are pursuing the best way to render them a real service, by

enabling them to represent themselves as martyrs and sufferers in the cause, for which they will expect to be rewarded?" "I do—but the people must be satisfied."

The people becoming impatient, and the committee no longer private, it was moved by Bradford that the troops now march to Pittsburgh. He was seconded by Mr. Brackenridge, who said aloud, as if addressed to the bystanders, as well as to the committee—"By all means, let us march into the town, and if with no other view, let us give a proof, that we can preserve the strictest order and discipline; and can refrain from doing any damage, or injury, to persons or property. Let us just march through, and taking a turn, come out on the plain, on the bank of the Monongahela, and after drinking a little whiskey with the inhabitants, the troops will embark and cross the river."

These words, apparently spoken in a careless manner, became the order of the day, and were actually obeyed to the letter. Nothing can more strongly show the superiority of certain minds over others, and over multitudes, than things of this kind.* Bradford saw nothing beyond the vanity of being the momentary idol, and ostensible leader, or he would not have suffered the real command to be thus slipped out of his hands, without even seeming to know it. Bradford and Col. Cook acted as generals, and Col. Blakely as officer of the day. Mr. Brackenridge proceeded with the advance guard to conduct them by the proper road, and was thus in fact the leader of the whole army of five or six thousand men, in the humble capacity of guide, or, at most, as chief of the Civic committee. When about starting, Mr. Ross again passed him, and said—"the veil

* Mr. Combe, in his phrenological tour, relates the following story, which resembles this. Before the late war between this country and England, a mob had gone on board a British vessel in the port of Philadelphia, taken off the rudder, and were dragging it along the street, with the intention of repairing to the residence of the British consul and breaking his windows. A gentleman of address, and some personal influence, joined them, and affected to aid in dragging the rudder, but taking advantage of a pause to rest, addressed them in the following manner: "Fellow-citizens, let us prove to these insolent British, that we are not a rabble of disorderly persons, as they represent us—but a calm, reflecting people. Instead of insulting them, let us give three cheers before the consul's house, and then proceed to the State-house, and lock up this rascally piece of British timber in one of the rooms, and then disperse." The suggestion was adopted and literally obeyed. At night, the rudder was secretly conveyed back to the ship by order of the mayor. It would have been of no use to attempt direct dissuasion; and yet, Mr. Brackenridge was blamed for not flatly opposing the march to Pittsburgh under similar circumstances!

is becoming too thin—I fear it will be seen through." It had in fact been seen through by a few, but they had no time to concert measures, and did not know in whom to confide.

Mr. Brackenridge led the whiskey boys, as they were called, by the Monongahela road, so as to keep them out of view of the garrison. They passed through town, wheeled to the left, and came out on the plain to the east. The Pittsburgh militia soon dispersed, and busied themselves in carrying whiskey and water. He was employed in this way himself; it cost him five barrels of old whiskey; but he declared, he would rather try to extinguish the fire in their throats, than in his house.

Bradford had left all to the officers, and had retired to a cool shade, where he was surrounded by glorifiers, to whom he was boasting of his wonderful exploit. Great activity was manifested among the well-disposed of the troops to preserve order, which was rendered very difficult by the continual arrival of straggling companies. The great object now, was to throw them across the river as soon as possible. There being but few boats, Mr. Brackenridge rode down to the point, and luckily found it fordable at this season. He immediately returned, and led several squadrons across; after which, all those on horseback followed. The footmen were, in the mean time, ferried across, and there was a prospect of having the town clear. Mr. Brackenridge had all the boats brought over the town side, and on his return, saw the flames of Major Kirkpatrick's barn on the top of Coal hill. This had been the signal to some companies who had remained in town, to set fire to the dwelling house there. He met General Wilkins rushing down to the defence, at the head of a body of the town militia, and immediately stopped him. "This will not do," said he, "it is not our system; if the house is to be defended it must be by these people themselves." He urged other reasons, which convinced Wilkins, who went no further, and he hastened to the spot himself; here he found Col. Cook, McFarlane, and Marshall, who had gone for the purpose of preventing the burning. "Gentlemen," said he, to those bent on mischief, "you cannot burn this house, without burning that of Col. O'Hara; you all know him to be a good man, and absent from home, with the army, engaged in fighting the Indians. If the house must be destroyed, let it be pulled down, and not burned. But why trouble yourselves about it now? The people of the town will pull it down." Aided by the exertions of Cook and McFarlane, the house was saved. The day at length dawned in peace and quiet—the whiskey boys having dispersed, and each returned to his own home.

Mr. Brackenridge would willingly have left the country and crossed the mountains; he envied those who had been ban-

ished. He was desirous of getting some kind of commission from the town, to the President, to represent the circumstances and situation of the country; but his townsmen insisted on his staying, and desired him to go to the meeting of delegates, at Parkinson's ferry. He felt also an earnest desire to pacify the country, if possible, by means short of force, and was now satisfied that unless this were speedily done, an army would be marched from the other side of the mountains, led on by some Claverhouse, who would exercise a military severity, more to be dreaded than the outrages of the mob. He felt great reluctance to go to Parkinson's ferry, as it would be necessary, in order to effect any thing, as well as for his own safety, to continue to sustain, to a certain extent, the appearance of being with the insurgents.* But Mr. Ross and Gen. Wilkins overruled his objections, thinking it advisable to get all they could, opposed to violent measures, from the different parts of the country. Accordingly, he and Gen. Wilkins were chosen delegates.

"At this period," says Mr. Brackenridge, in his work on the Western Insurrection, "there were alarming accounts from the East side of the mountains, of a disposition of the people, similar to that of the West. I saw before me anarchy, a shock to the government, a revolution impregnated with the Jacobin principles of France, and which might become equally bloody to the principal actors. It would be bloody unavoidably to them, and to the people, destructive. Let no man suppose I coveted a revolution; I had seen the evils of one already in the American; and I had read the evils of another, the French. My imagination presented the evils of the last strongly to my view, and brought them so close to a possible experience at home, that

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* Findlay, who was his bitter enemy, in his "History, &c." uses this language, when speaking of the proceedings at Parkinson's ferry: "Brackenridge was *probably* actuated by the same motives as Gallatin, but supported the measures in a different way; he often kept up the appearance, and sometimes the boasting language which was acceptable to Bradford's party, and opposed Gallatin. *Yet he always contrived to bring the proceedings to the same issue.*" That is, he effected by address that which Gallatin failed to accomplish by direct means. Findlay knew perfectly well that Mr. Brackenridge was compelled by the situation in which he had been placed to assume the appearance of favouring Bradford's party; he knew that Mr. Gallatin was aware of this, and that Mr. Ross was in the secret. His use of the word *probably* conveys a mean insinuation, which he knew to be false. With respect to the policy of the Pittsburgh committee and the insurgents, Mr. Ross explicitly declared, "that nothing but the consent of the Pittsburgh people to all these measures could have saved their property from utter destruction."

during the whole period of the insurrection, I could scarcely bear to cast my eye on a paragraph of French news."

In fact, the laws had been for some time silent, and the ideas and language of the French Revolution had become quite familiar with the disorderly. The only thing like civil authority which seemed to command any respect was that intrusted to Committees. His plan from the first, as had been said, was to withdraw power from the multitude, and place it in a Standing Committee, with which the friends of peace and order could begin to act. The objects which he had proposed to accomplish in going to the meeting at Parkinson's, were, 1st. To resolve that the state laws were in force; the authority of all civil officers to be respected; no violence to be committed by any man on his mere motion, on pain of being denounced by the Committee, as an enemy to the country.* 2d. That the meeting address the President, setting forth what had been done; praying a suspension of force, and an oblivion of what had passed, under such arrangements as might be obtainable. 3d. That a Standing Committee of safety be established, as conservators of the peace, in support of the civil authority, and as the organ of negotiation with the Executive on the subject of amnesty, &c."

At Parkinson's ferry, two hundred and sixty delegates assembled, much too large a number, some of the townships having sent four or five. There was a still greater number of persons collected as spectators. Mr. Brackenridge had a consultation with Bradford, Marshall, and other leaders, and affected to advise with the first, in order to be able to manage him, as he and Marshall had various projects of a belligerent nature. Bradford wished to bring forward something like a declaration of war, and Parkinson had a string of resolutions to offer; they were both inclined, however, to reduce the number of the delegation, and in favour of a Standing Committee, which was the main object of Mr. Brackenridge; he also wished to give ample discretionary powers to the Standing Committee, so as to enable them to negotiate for an amnesty, to which the people at this time were averse, excepting on such terms as the government could not grant. Col. Cook was appointed chairman, and Albert Gallatin, who then resided in Fayette county, secretary. Bradford desired Mr. Brackenridge to open the meeting, which he declined; he then rose himself, and, as usual, went into a long and violent harangue, in favour of open and hostile opposition to

* He says, "the idea of a Committee had become more formidable than that of a court. It was a new authority, springing from the people's power, and had the force of opinion on its side; the censure of a Committee would render a man infamous."

the government, and proposing to lay before the meeting the means of defence, a schedule of arms, men, &c.

Marshall then rose and produced his resolutions. The 1st related to taking citizens from the vicinage to be tried, &c. 2d. A Standing Committee of —— members from each county as a Committee of Safety; *to call out the resources of the Western counties, to repel any hostile attempts against the rights of the citizens, or the body of the people.*

Gallatin rose to oppose this resolution, or at least the latter part of it. It required no little courage to do it, as it was a favourite one, and he was obliged to do it cautiously. "What right," said he, "have we to suppose that military force will be used against us, and why therefore prepare to resist? If riots have taken place, they are the subjects of judicial cognizance."

Brackenridge saw the danger of entering on this discussion; and instantly affected to oppose Gallatin. He thought it not amiss to have the resolution, although softened in the terms, without altering the substance, such as, "*the Committee shall have power to take such measures as the situation of affairs may require;*" a Committee of four might model the terms. Marshall acquiesced, and thus the debate and vote were artfully carried. Those in favour of war thought they had succeeded, and the more prudent thought the question postponed. The 3d resolution related to the appointment of a Committee to draw up a memorial to Congress, praying a repeal of the obnoxious laws, &c.; also carried. 4th. A Committee to draw up a statement of the motives and acts of the people, &c. to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the President. The 5th was a resolution to support the government and laws, *with the exception of the excise laws, and taking citizens out of their counties to be tried.* Mr. Brackenridge, on this resolution, without supporting or condemning it, spoke at considerable length on the situation of the country, without government or law, and the want of safety to persons or property. Gallatin spoke in favour of the establishment of law, and the conservation of the peace. Notwithstanding the praise bestowed on him by Findlay for the open and direct course which he generally pursued, and with which he *unfavourably contrasts that of Mr. Brackenridge*, he did not venture to condemn the resistance to the United States' Marshal, or the proscriptions at Pittsburgh, but condemned the destruction of property. "What," said a fiery fellow, "do you blame the burning of Kirkpatrick's barn?" The secretary was embarrassed, and paused for a moment. "If you had burned him in it, it might have been something, but the barn had done no harm." "Aye —aye—right enough," said the man. Some dissembling, as well as presence of mind, was necessary here; which shows

that it is much easier for men *to write in the quiet of their closets, than to act in critical scenes like these.*

Bradford's schedule of arms, &c. and resolutions, were now brought forward. They were attacked "in front" by Mr. Gallatin. But his success was doubtful. Mr. Brackenridge, who had been out of the circle, returned, and again affected to oppose the secretary. He said it might not be amiss to talk of these things—hold out the idea of being prepared to fight, in order to render it unnecessary, as a general sometimes displays columns, by way of demonstration; but enough has now been done—let the details be left to the Standing Committee. There was no more said, and the vote was avoided.

The meeting adjourned until the next morning, leaving the Committee, consisting of Brackenridge, Bradford, Gallatin, and Herman Husbands, to model the resolutions. During the night, the cry of the people was for war. The situation of Mr. Brackenridge led to painful reflections on their account, as well as on his own. He felt a desire to save them from the horrors of civil war, and if his plans should fail in accomplishing this, what would become of him? He could not join them; they thought themselves in the right, but he knew they were in the wrong. To become a fugitive emigrant was a most painful alternative; the property he left behind would be sacrificed, and he would have to begin the world anew in some strange country; perhaps despised for being an emigrant; for those would be more respected, who remained to share the fate, and even the crimes, of their fellow-citizens. He saw no prospect of success in their open resistance, and his feelings revolted at the idea of disturbing the peace and harmony of the Republic, which he had assisted to establish.

The resolutions reported, were 1st, relating to the taking citizens from the vicinage. 2d. A Standing Committee of *deputies* from each county. Mr. Brackenridge moved *township* instead of county, and to fill the blank with the number two. The ostensible object was to have them distributed as conservators of the peace; the real object to scatter them, and by that means give greater power to the smaller Standing or Executive Committee. This was carried. The Standing Committee was then chosen, consisting of twelve, of which Mr. Brackenridge was one. He now offered a resolution, that commissioners be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, with the representatives of the people, and report to the Committee the answer he should give.

It was soon after announced, that commissioners on the part of the government had crossed the mountains—the words of the resolution were then changed—"to meet the commissioners, that have been, or may be appointed by the government, and

to report to the Standing Committee." This was also carried, and the blank filled with the number three. It was then proposed to wait until the arrival of the commissioners, as they could not be more than one or two day's journey off. Mr. Brackenridge considered this extremely hazardous to the object in view, as the proposals of the commissioners in the present state of things, would be certain to be rejected. He desired a cooling time and deliberation; for that purpose, an adjournment was necessary, and an opportunity of operating on the mind of the Standing Committee. Mr. James Ross was now present; he had received his appointment as one of the commissioners, but did not let it be known. Every thing was urged by Gallatin, and some others, in favour of adjournment, and passing the resolution in its present form; but their efforts seemed to be ineffectual, such was the prevailing anxiety and eagerness of curiosity to hear the propositions of the government commission.

Mr. Brackenridge was walking outside of the circle in a desponding mood, when commissioner Ross came to him, and urged him to go forward. "I do not see that I can do any thing; Gallatin and others have said all that is reasonable, and yet have failed." "You can do it," said Ross. He then stepped forward, and knowing that it was the impatience of curiosity which stood in the way, addressed them to the following effect. "It is altogether impossible that the government commissioners can have any thing of importance to propose at this stage of the business. The President has not yet seen our representatives; he does not know our demands. We can only receive these commissioners as a matter of form, or civility; the first step must be taken by us; we can only lay before them what is to be laid before the President; and of course, they must wait for instructions. Our waiting here would therefore be entirely useless. The authority to negotiate, to correspond, &c., must be intrusted to the Standing Committee, for this requires time, and may require caution and dexterity to prevent an advantage being taken of us."

No one spoke after this, and the resolution was passed. A proposal was made to instruct, but this was again parried by observing, that instructions could not be framed without knowing the propositions which might be made by the commissioners. It was agreed that the new meeting of deputies should be at Brownsville, in September; the Standing Committee to fix their own time of meeting.

When he walked out of the circle, he observed to Ross: "I think the point is now gained. There is a basis now laid on which we can act. To this point I have always looked, not expecting commissioners from the government, but propositions from it to commissioners on our part, *holding out an amnesty;*

which I take to be the great secret of composing the disturbance. Until that appeared, the disposition of those involved was to acts of violence to support themselves; and the whole county, conscious that every man has in some degree contributed, by words or actions, to produce this mental opposition to the law, which has terminated in actual force, could not reconcile it to their feelings to abandon those who have acted with precipitation in the late occurrences. But an amnesty being given, these can say to their countrymen, 'you are now on the same ground with us; stop, we will go no further.'"

He had no previous consultation with Gallatin, with whom he was but slightly acquainted; but he took the first occasion to say to him, "I presume, Mr. Gallatin, you understand me." "Perfectly, sir," was the reply. They had taken opposite sides on the question of the ratification of the Federal Constitution—Gallatin, with Patrick Henry, being opposed, and Mr. Brackenridge being in favour of it.* A few days after the last meeting, the commissioners had arrived at Pittsburgh; they were Messrs. Yates, Bradford, (Attorney General,) and Mr. Ross.

Mr. Brackenridge found that there was a strong prepossession in the mind of two of the commissioners against him, and he learned that his conduct had been cruelly misrepresented on the other side of the mountains, (chiefly by persons who had left Pittsburgh,) either from enmity or misapprehension. He was represented as the real leader of the insurrection, and Bradford but a tool in his hands. He was thus placed between two fires; he had run great risk with the people, and was now in greater danger from the government, by which he was to be denounced as a traitor. He could not refrain from expressing his mortification and chagrin to Ross, who assured him, that as he had been perfectly acquainted with his motives, he would guaranty his safety as respected the government. In the moment of injured feeling, he exclaimed, "it seems that all the thanks that I am to receive for the exertions I have made, and the dangers I have encountered, is that I shall be regarded as a traitor; if such be my fate, I may as well join the insurgents in earnest." "By no means," said Ross, "the force of genius is almighty, give them not the aid of yours." In fact, the insurrection would soon have worn a different aspect, under the

* The name of Federal was at first given to those who were *opposed* to the new Constitution, and who desired a *federal*, not a *consolidated* government, which they alleged was created by the Constitution. The name of Federalist was afterwards, curiously enough, applied to the *supporters* of the first administrations under the Constitution, which was now called the Federal Constitution!—See the debates on the adoption of the Constitution at New York.—A history of the transmutation of parties would be a curious subject already in this country!

direction of a man, who, though bred to letters, and having no great relish for the profession of arms, was, like Rienzi, equal to any emergency; and if driven to desperation by injustice, might have led the way to consequences which no one could foretell; for at this moment, when the whole West was attached to the East by a slender tie, Spain and France, with the good will of England, were endeavouring to divide the Union, by making the Allegheny mountains the boundary of a distinct power. But with him these were the thoughts of a moment, and instantly banished from his mind; he was too much of a patriot and philanthropist, to be deluded by the visions of false ambition and selfish aggrandizement.

On the meeting of the Committee at Pittsburgh, to confer with the commissioners, Mr. Brackenridge took the first opportunity to lay aside the mask he had been compelled to wear. He explained fully and candidly the motives by which he had been actuated, addressed them as men of sense, and pointed out the necessity of accepting the amnesty as speedily as possible, orders having already been issued to assemble the militia on the other side of the mountain; and they were then probably on their march. Gallatin and others, who entertained the same views, made similar representations, and it was found that the Committee was with them, with the exception of Bradford and Marshall, who appeared thunderstruck; "the first looked red and angry; the latter pale and affected." It is highly probable that they had, by this time, discovered that an amnesty would not reach their case; the riots, in which great numbers had been engaged, might be passed over; but their avowed treasonable designs, and robbery of the mail,—a little project of their own,—could not be so readily forgotten.

Mr. Brackenridge was intrusted by the Committee to draw up a report, and he was desirous to place the case of the people in as strong a light as possible, so as to show that the Committee had made the best of it. But this was objected to by the commissioners, who wished that the question of acceptance or not, of the amnesty, should be placed before the new assemblage of deputies, and for this purpose, hastened their meeting at an earlier day than that fixed upon. The season was advancing, and the President could not delay sending troops. It was besides told him, in confidence, that there was a serious apprehension of a rising in the lower counties, that is, of those on the other side of the mountains, opposed to the excise, unless something were speedily done.

In his report, Brackenridge suggested some reasons which he thought would have weight in inducing the people to accept the terms of the commissioners; but in this, Gallatin differed from him. In his work on the Insurrection, Mr. Brackenridge

makes some remarks on this head, which are worth repeating here, for their truth and good sense. "No doubt it is the true democratic principle that the will of the majority shall govern; the national will has made the law, and it should be obeyed. However unequal and oppressive it may be in this part of the community, yet the will of the whole *required* that it should be obeyed. This is an abstract argument, which must satisfy the understanding, but can never reconcile the heart. It is like the theological argument of the divines, that the good of the whole requires that some should be damned, and that a man cannot be a saint until he feels a disposition to be reconciled to the divine will, even if it shall fall to *his* lot to be doomed to everlasting punishment. A regenerated man may come to this, but a natural man never can. So an enlightened politician may comprehend, and acquiesce in the principle of submission to inequality of burthens, when the nation dooms him to it; but the common mind revolts; and nothing will quiet such a mind, but the consideration *that it cannot be helped*. My argument, therefore, chiefly contemplated the want of power—sometimes introducing the idea of postponement, &c., and when it was replied to the latter, that the people could never be roused again, my answer was, "I know that, and it was on that principle I suggested it. It was quite safe to talk of another day; for if Satan was once laid, it would be hard to raise him again. The people would begin to look back, and be made sensible of the precipice on which they had been standing. Let the law be put in operation, and they would not find it the evil they conceived it to be."

The deputies, or General Committee, consisting of sixty members, including the Standing Committee, met at Brownsville on the 28th of August. The first thing that occurred, was the bringing before the Committee, under a guard of seventy men, a Quaker, of the name of Jackson, who had given great offence by calling the assemblage a "Scrub Congress." The people had at first intended to destroy his property, and tar and feather him, but had been persuaded by the more moderate to bring him before the Committee *for trial*. On this occasion, Mr. Brackenridge gave a proof of his ready address, and showed that wit may sometimes answer a better purpose than sober argument. Affecting to be indignant at the conduct of Jackson, he related to them, with infinite drollery of manner, an anecdote of Oliver Cromwell, perhaps invented for this occasion. "Some one came to Oliver and informed him, that a certain person had had the audacity to say, that the Protector might 'go to the devil.' 'Did he?' said Oliver—'the villain—I'll punish him. Go to him and tell him to come and show me the way.' This fellow has called us a Scrub Congress—let him be

named Scrub himself, and be made to pay for the christening." Peals of laughter followed this sentence, and the Quaker was carried off to receive his punishment, which was the price of a few gallons of whiskey.

The report of Mr. Brackenridge was read. But it appeared that the popular feeling had gone beyond the idea of an amnesty. The people rather thought of giving one—they had expected a suspension of the obnoxious laws, if not a repeal. He saw it would not do to enter upon the business immediately. Findlay, Smiley, and others, were on the ground, and might prepare the public mind—it was therefore thought prudent to adjourn until next morning. Bradford* and Marshall had become his bitter enemies, and were desirous of holding a caucus with such members as they could operate upon. The situation of Mr. Brackenridge was again perilous, his popularity having once more suffered. Popularity, in such times, is of little value; it is but the turning of the hand, the palm up or down —liable to a sudden fall from the highest pinnacle of favour to the lowest point of obloquy.

The next morning he found the situation of Gallatin and himself rather delicate. During the night great pains had been taken to inflame the minds of the people. With his coadjutor, he was determined to risk the question of amnesty; but with the very unpleasant prospect of being arrested as traitors by the mob, if they failed. It was proposed that Edgar, a Presbyterian elder, and a member of the twelve, who was not so deeply committed, should open the matter; but he declined; it was therefore put on Gallatin. This gentleman occupied the attention of the assembly, and a numerous audience, for some hours, with a speech of great power and eloquence; and was heard with deep attention. Mr. Brackenridge then, at considerable length, went over the ground which had been occupied by Gallatin; placed the arguments in somewhat different lights, and added something new. Gallatin was more didactic; Brackenridge more impassioned;—the first, addressed their patriotism and their reason; the latter, their consciences and fears. Both speeches were masterly efforts. They were followed by Edgar, in a kind of sermonizing discourse, but which was replete with good sense, and had its effect on the people, to whose habits it was adapted.

Bradford spoke with violence against accepting the terms of

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* Before the flight of this individual, a letter containing a tissue of falsehoods and absurdities, was procured from him by some of Mr. Brackenridge's enemies, with a view of implicating him. They did not reflect that such a document would be more injurious to those who could condescend to use it than to the person against whom it was used.

amnesty. "We will defeat the first army that crosses the mountains," said he, "and take their arms and baggage." After he had concluded, Gallatin moved to take the vote—but as only the members of the Committee of Twelve stood up, it was negatived. Presuming that this proceeded from unwillingness to vote openly, Gallatin proposed the ballot. This was negatived in the same way. Here was a situation. If the vote had not been taken, the proposition would have been lost, and the consequence would have been immediate preparation for war. Bradford would have come forward with his project of arms, &c., in which he had been baffled at Parkinson's, and Gallatin and himself would have been arrested on the spot. Gallatin with great presence of mind, proposed that a vote should be taken by ballot merely to ascertain their own minds, but without intending it as an answer to the commissioners. After some hesitation, a member proposed that a scrap of paper should be made out by the secretary, with the words yea and nay written on it, and given to each member, one of which words he could tear off and destroy. This plan was adopted; and on the vote being counted, there were thirty-four in the affirmative, and twenty-three in the negative! The question was now as completely at rest, as if it had been put in the most formal manner.

Bradford became dark and dismayed. The face of things was instantly changed—the more moderate among the numerous spectators were emboldened, and those who had been induced to join the more violent through fear, and from a vague belief of their having a majority, were glad of an opportunity to leave them. When it was moved to adjourn for a few hours, Bradford took his departure, and appeared no more. When they met again, the report was received, and the amnesty virtually accepted. From this moment, the insurrection may be said to have terminated; but the recoil was felt by the people, and by those who had been active in preventing scenes of blood and destruction. After appointing a new Committee of Twelve, the assembly adjourned.

The 11th of September was the day for signing the amnesty throughout the Western counties, and great pains were taken by influential men to induce the people to accept it. But many of the ill-disposed or infatuated threatened those who were desirous to sign. Bradford had become a convert to the new order, and endeavoured to distinguish himself by more than common zeal, but it did not answer his purpose; he lost every thing with his own party, who cried out, "Dagon, how art thou fallen!" Feeling little confidence in this new manœuvre, he came to the conclusion that his safety lay in flight. Another meeting was held on the 2d of October at Parkinson's Ferry, at which General Wilkins and Mr. Brackenridge were delegates

from Pittsburgh. Resolutions were passed declaring that law and order were restored; and two persons, Findlay and Reddick, were chosen as delegates to the President, to request that the march of the army, which had by this time assembled, might be stopped. They went on their mission; an account of which is given by Findlay in his history. They joined the army at Carlisle, where they were introduced to the President, who had been there but a short time. Before his arrival, serious disorders had been committed by the troops, a large proportion of whom were hired substitutes, and others, who considered it their duty to put down opposition to the excise laws, looked upon all who were against those laws as traitors, who ought to be hanged without judge or jury. The appearance of a liberty pole was enough to endanger the safety of a whole neighbourhood. The delegates themselves, according to Findlay, ran some risk, and were considered as implicated together with Gallatin and others, who had always openly opposed the insurrection. As for Mr. Brackenridge, he was regarded as worse than Bradford; in fact, as the principal, and his life was threatened by several of the officers, as well as by the soldiers. Two persons had been put to death in a most shameful and wanton manner, before the arrival of Washington. The delegates expressed a desire that if the march could not be stopped, the President would command in person. But neither of these requests could be granted. Although the idea of the amnesty is to be attributed to the wisdom and magnanimity of Washington, yet Findlay seems to think that the refusal to stop the march of the army proceeded from his advisers—especially from Hamilton, who, he says, was for seizing the occasion to strengthen the new government by a display of physical force. It would occupy too much space here to discuss the question; but I do not hesitate to say that when we regard the consequences, it was not wise to have ordered the army to continue its march, after the insurrection had been brought to a peaceful termination; after the request of the delegates, and after that of the Governor of Pennsylvania. What did the army effect after it had passed the mountains? Did it meet with opposition, or find a single individual in arms? And was it not guilty of monstrous outrages, which the historians have passed over too lightly? These are related by Mr. Brackenridge and by Findlay, and they cannot be read at this day without astonishment.

The election passed off in the disturbed state of the country, with but little attention. But few attended, and in some districts none voted. It had been reported that Mr. Brackenridge had declined; Gallatin was taken up only a week before the election, and was elected by a few votes over him. There were five other candidates; and there is no doubt Mr. Brackenridge

would have been elected, but for the misapprehension, which induced many to vote for Gallatin in his place. Another meeting was held on the 24th of October, at which more than a thousand persons attended, and passed resolutions declaring peace and order restored, and a determination to submit to the excise law; but all in vain; it was determined that the army should be sent forward.

It is stated by Mr. Brackenridge, that from information on which he placed reliance, the rage of the army against him seemed to increase as it approached. The prejudice existing in the minds of the principal officers, and persons accompanying the army, was too strong to be encountered.

Mr. Ross honourably redeemed his pledge, as far as was in his power, by making a fair representation of his conduct. Notwithstanding this, the very best treatment he could expect, would be to be sent to Philadelphia in irons—to be tried at an expense which would ruin him; for without one or two hundred witnesses, he could not explain his conduct on every occasion. But the greater probability was that he would be assassinated.

Bradford had good reasons to fly; but Brackenridge had none, for he was innocent; he therefore resolved to stay at home, and perish on his own hearth. He put his papers in order, arranged his affairs, and drew up a statement of the principal facts, addressed to Mr. Ross, with a request that he would see that justice was done to his memory. The Judge of the United States of the Pennsylvania district had preceded the army a few days, with the intention of taking civil cognizance of such as might be placed under military arrest. Under what section of the Constitution, or of the judiciary law, this was done, I am not able to say; but at that time, there were many different ways of acting, which we should think strangely of at present; and none more than of the powers then exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury, or of the arrest of citizens remaining quietly at home, by the soldiery.

Mr. Ross, at the request of Mr. Brackenridge, waited on Judge Peters, and pledged himself that he would come forward at any moment when he would be required, so that he might not undergo the mortification of an arrest. The first troops that arrived, were those under the command of General Morgan; and the same evening, a party of military ruffians came to Mr. Brackenridge's house for the purpose of assassinating him;—they were only prevented by the interference of their commanding officer, and of Colonel Neville, who arrived just in time to prevent the perpetration of the deed.

Such was the rooted prejudice which had been conceived by persons, who ought to have leaned to the side of innocence, that

even after the examination of Mr. Ross, who entirely acquitted Mr. Brackenridge, they still persisted in considering him as the chief insurgent. They were desirous of aiming at a shining mark, but were staggered by the examination of the gentleman just mentioned, and some doubts began to be entertained. A letter written by Mr. Brackenridge to Bradford, was now produced, very dark and mysterious; it spoke of a duplicate—hinted at some papers, &c. What do you think of this, Mr. Ross? Certainly very mysterious—but it happens to be addressed to William Bradford, Attorney General, who can probably explain. "Gentlemen," said Alexander Hamilton, "you are going too fast in this business."

In the mean time Mr. Brackenridge expected every moment to be arrested, and lay several nights on a couch ready to be taken in a moment's warning; for it seems that these arrests, for what reason it is difficult to say, generally took place in the dead hour of night. His sensibility was deeply touched; and he experienced a return of a nervous affection, brought on in youth by great application to study. General Lee had arrived; he came directly to Mr. Brackenridge's house; it having been chosen by the quarter-master on account of being large and commodious, and without consulting the owner. A very awkward and painful recognition took place, as General Lee, (not the European of that name who has been mentioned heretofore,) had been a junior scholar at Princeton, and occasionally placed under his tuition. The general changed his quarters in a few days; and Mr. Brackenridge, about the same time, was served with a subpœna to appear before the examiners as a witness. He knew that this was only a mode of arrest, and that if he did not exculpate himself, the arrest would follow; and this depended very much into whose hands he might fall in order to be examined. The task was undertaken by Secretary Hamilton, who was to all intents and purposes the Commander-in-Chief, representing the civil and military power of Washington. This may seem strange; but it was the fact; and it was fortunate for Mr. Brackenridge—he at least had no right to complain, for he was treated by Hamilton in a manner at once just and magnanimous, considering that he was approached only by the most violent enemies, who lost no opportunity of misrepresenting all his actions and motives, and in exciting the most injurious prejudices against him.

The examination having commenced, he proceeded to dictate to Secretary Hamilton. After writing an hour or two, the Secretary stopped, and said—"I observe one leading trait in your account, a disposition to excuse the principal actors; and before we go further, I must be candid and inform you of the delicate situation in which you stand—you are not within the amnesty

—you have not signed on the day;* a thing we did not know until we came upon the ground; and although the government may not be disposed to act rigorously, yet it has you in its power, and it will depend on the candour of your account *what your fate will be.*"

To this Mr. Brackenridge promptly answered—"I know, sir, I am not within the amnesty, and am sensible of the power of the government; but if my narrative were to begin again, I would not change a single word." The dispassionate mind, at this day, cannot hesitate in deciding which of these persons appeared on this occasion in the most exalted character! When the Secretary came to the part which relates to the going to the Mingo meeting, at the instance of the Inspector, or rather of his son, he appeared surprised; and it was evident that this fact had been concealed from him. He stopped writing, and appointed an hour for continuing it in the afternoon. It is probable he made some inquiry of Col. Neville, (recently returned with the army,) with whom he dined. This gentleman had once been on very friendly terms with Mr. Brackenridge; but from causes which it is unnecessary to inquire into, had of late united with his enemies; but he was a man of humane and generous feelings, and when directly appealed to, would speak as became a man of honour. On the return of the Secretary, he immediately said, "Mr. Brackenridge, your conduct has been most horridly misrepresented."

The examination continued during that and part of the next day. At its conclusion, the Secretary expressed himself in the following terms: "In the course of yesterday, I had uneasy feelings. I was concerned for you, as for a man of talents; my impressions were unfavourable; you may have observed it. I now think it is my duty to inform you, that not a single one remains. Had we listened to some people, I do not know what might have been done. There is a side to your account; your conduct has been horridly misrepresented, owing to misconception. I will announce you in this point to General Lee, who represents the Executive. You are in no personal danger. You will not be troubled, even by a simple inquisition, by the Judge;

* There is too much truth in the following remarks of Findlay: "If Mr. Brackenridge, who had conducted with such address, in a situation which rendered it necessary for him to temporize, that he knew he was in no danger from the usual mode of process, but he also knew that the power of government, with which he was threatened, conveyed another idea. If such powerful addresses were made to the hopes and fears of Mr. Brackenridge, who from his profession was able to judge of his situation, what may we not expect was done with such ignorant people as did not know what part of their conduct or expressions might be deemed criminal!"

what may be due to yourself with the public, is another question."

It were unnecessary to say that this acquittal was gratifying to the subject of it. "In so delicate a case," says he, "where life had been sought by insidious men; and where, what I felt most sensibly, my hopes of estimation in the world were likely to be blasted, at least for a time, it may easily be supposed that no word escaped me, or will ever be forgotton." And thus, in this free country, and under this government of laws, the person whose patriotism and consummate ability entitled him to the mural crown, considered himself but too happy to escape without the ruin of his estate, and perhaps an ignominious death. Once he was saved with difficulty from assassination; and on another occason, a pistol was presented to his breast—but as he did not flinch, the ruffian turned away, declaring that he believed him, after all, a very clever fellow.*

The arrests began in the night of the 9th of November, with the greater part of innocent or meritorious persons; but on the 13th, during the most inclement season, nearly three hundred were dragged from their beds, and driven through streams, over muddy roads, and penned up in stables like cattle! From an awkward mistake in the lists made out, those intended for witnesses were not distinguished from the supposed criminals; many were so seriously injured, that they never recovered their health. The end of all this, was two or three convictions of poor obscure men, who were afterwards pardoned; and what is curious enough, according to the doctrine of treason, established by Marshall in the case of Burr, no treason had been committed: for the treasonable *projects*, even of Bradford and Marshall, were not followed by any overt act of treason. There had been riots, disorderly conduct, robbery of the mail, but no act with the view of subverting the government. There was nothing but *constructive treason*, which is now regarded as odious.

The extraordinary outrages of the 13th of November, were long kept in remembrance by the people of the West, and familiarly known as the *dreadful night*. It must not be said that we have made no progress in the principles of liberty. Such scenes could not take place in our time, without exciting feel-

* The insubordination of the army as it was called, may excite surprise. There were many honourable exceptions, such as Captain Dunlap's troop, and some others—but the greater part was little better than a mob. Take the following related by Findlay: "On one or two occasions, when some foolish men who mixed with that wing being in danger, General Morgan pretending to reserve them for an ignominious punishment, saved them, till they could be safely dismissed; or kept his men from killing them himself." This looks more like temporizing with a mob, than commanding an army!

ings of horror and universal indignation. Even in England, such wholesale arrests would more properly belong to the times of Charles II., than to any subsequent period.

At the close of the insurrection, the popularity of Brackenridge rose again, even higher than it had been before. Those who had looked upon him as a traitor to the whiskey cause, now sympathized with him, when they saw the treatment he had met with from the army; while the important services he had rendered the country were admitted by all but his personal enemies, and a few whose prejudices were immovable. He now sat about the task suggested by Alexander Hamilton, of defending his reputation before the bar of public opinion. He addressed circular letters to a number of the most distinguished individuals of the Western counties, whose opportunities enabled them to speak from their own knowledge of his conduct. Among them are the names of James Ross, Alexander Addison, Judge of the district, Henry Purviance, David Reddick, General John Wilkins, John Hoge, and many others, who all concurred in completely exonerating him from all censure, and in applauding the course pursued by him.*

Not satisfied with this, he published an octavo volume, entitled "Incidents of the Western Insurrection," written with uncommon vigour of style, and replete with graphic descriptions of scenes and incidents. As a vindication, it was unanswered, and unanswerable. Its republication, however, would require some things to be struck out, which bear severely upon individuals, as it would answer no good purpose to perpetuate them; and it is possible that there may have been some misconception in his mind towards them, as there was in theirs towards him, but productive of different effects; in the latter case, endangering life and reputation; in the former, bringing

* "I saw many alarmed and anxious for the safety of their country, and for the re-establishment of the government, and who expressed an abhorrence of all that was doing. I thought none of them more seriously so than yourself."—*James Ross.*

"My opinion of the whole of your conduct throughout the insurrection in this country, I will give without reserve. It appeared to me to have two objects; to arrest the progress of the present violence, and to procure an amnesty for that already committed, and thus prevent the flame from spreading beyond the county in which it originated."—*Henry Purviance.*

"It is impossible for me, without erasing all my impressions of your character and conduct, to suppose that you ever advised or countenanced any illegal opposition to the excise law."—*Alexander Addison.*

"I had daily opportunities of observing your conduct, and conversing with you. I never had a doubt, but that you were influenced by the purest motives, and was anxious for the restoration of order and the laws."—*John Wilkins.*

The foregoing extracts are deemed sufficient for this place.

down the lash of invective and ridicule. In reply to some of those who affected to speak with contempt of the Western people, for their *cowardice* in making so mean a resistance—the same persons having previously denounced them on the other side of the mountains as traitors for taking up arms against the government—he uses this language:—"I have seen the waves when they were calm, and I have wondered that they could ever be wrought into a tempest to shipwreck navies. Let my fellow-citizens on the East of the mountains be happy, as I am, that they met with no resistance. The rage of the forest would have been more awful than its solitude. Be not offended that I am partial to the spirit of these people; they are ourselves; you had them for your compatriots against a common foe; and I will pledge myself, they will not disgrace you in any enterprise, for the glory of our Republic, however daring and hazardous it may be."

The work concludes with the following eloquent passages, which may justly compare with the best specimens of writing in the language:

"I have now finished the detail I had in view. That my information may not have been correct in all cases; that my memory may have led me into error; that my imagination may have coloured facts, is possible; but that I have deviated from the strictness of truth, knowingly, is what I will not admit. That I have been under the painful necessity of giving touches which may affect the feelings of some persons, is evident. But it has been with all the delicacy in my power, consistent with doing justice to myself. If I have done them injustice, they have the same, with me, in their power, an appeal to the public. This is the great and respectable tribunal at whose bar I stand; for, though I have not been arraigned at the bar of a court of justice, yet from the first moment of obloquy against me, I have considered myself an arrested man, and put upon my country. From that day the morning sun shone to me less bright; the light of night has been more obscure; the human countenance presented nothing but suspicion; the voice of man hurt me; I almost hated life itself. For who can say that I have pursued riches?—who can say I have been a devotee of pleasure? What have I, if I lose the hope of estimation? Was I traitor to my country? Was I traitor to that class of men with whom I stand on equality in point of education and cultivated intellect? Would I disgrace the praise of science and enlightened reading, who am taught to know, that virtue is glory; and benevolence and truth, that alone which can assimilate with the divine nature? And what greater deviation from virtue than to disturb the settled order of government, while that government remains republican? And who

ever touches it with any other view than that of salutary and regular reform, deserves the anathema of the people."

From this time Mr. Brackenridge was considered the man of the people, but devoting himself to the profession of which he stood at the head. Two years after the insurrection, he published the first volume of Modern Chivalry, in which many traces of those times may be discovered. His object was to write something that would indoctrinate the people themselves on the subject of government, and correct those errors into which their almost boundless state of freedom would be apt to lead them. Dry dissertations, like those of Montesquieu and others, would do for the learned, but would not be read by one in ten thousand of the people. He, at first, thought of a form like Butler's Hudibras—but concluding that this would not be so likely to be read as prose, he determined to try the plan of Cervantes in his Don Quixotte. His hero, Captain Farrago, is however no madman, but simply an eccentric. He found it difficult to supply the place of Sancho, and had recourse to a Milesian Irishman of the lower order, of the Thady or Paddy-from-Cork species. The character is certainly not so successful as that of Sancho; but there is much humour in it; and it answered his purpose better than any he could find of American original. His Scotchman, Duncan Ferguson, is better sustained, and more natural. Modern Chivalry is a profound philosophical and political work, under the guise of pleasantry. It is wonderful what a variety of topics is touched, in the most compendious way, and admirably adapted to form the people to the true principles of a democratic republic.

He was one of the most active and efficient, in bringing about the revolution of party in the year 1800. On the election of Governor, Mr. McKean, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State; which place he continued to fill during sixteen years, until his death in 1816; and of him, it might truly be said, "when a learned man dieth, much learning dieth with him." Few persons who have risen to distinction in this country, combined in themselves a greater variety of brilliant qualities. He possessed wit, great acquirements on all subjects, sound judgment, and extraordinary powers of eloquence. Numerous anecdotes are related of, and many sayings attributed to him, some of them of doubtful authenticity. His wit was rather delicate irony, than broad humour—and always employed as the means of conveying some important truth, or correcting something wrong. His style is remarkable for its transparency, presenting the idea almost naked to the mind; so that one in perusing his page, may fancy that he is merely pursuing a train of thought of his own, instead of tracing the words and sentences of another. Originality was the peculiar

characteristic of his mind. His compositions were generally dictated to an amanuensis, and even the punctuation was attended to as he went along. His opinions on the bench bear the stamp of strict integrity, and the most perfect independence. They are generally clear and concise, unencumbered by authorities, usually ascending to first principles, and in consequence they have been increasing in reputation.

His name has been unjustly, at least in a most exaggerated manner, associated with the idea of mere eccentricity. It would be difficult to point out this characteristic either in his person or habits, or in his opinions. To be original, independent, and to follow the dictates of sound judgment, or common sense, which is not so common as the word implies, is to be different from the multitude, and if this be eccentricity, then Socrates and every other philosopher that ever lived was eccentric. From the moment he took his seat on the Bench, he refused every invitation to dine out, although unsurpassed as a convivial companion, giving as a reason that it might happen that his host might be a suitor in court. This would no doubt be set down by some as a mere whim, and it is not pretended that a contrary course is censurable. During his last illness he dictated his will, declaring that he left no accounts to settle, as he owed nothing, and no person owed him, except the State for a quarter's salary. He left his property, real and personal, to his wife, (an excellent woman, in whose prudence and discretion he had unbounded confidence,) sufficient for her decent maintenance, and to aid his children in setting out in life dependant on their own exertions; for he was practically, as well as theoretically, an enemy to the accumulation of wealth, which he purposely avoided, and no one had greater opportunities of becoming rich. He used to say, that he could do no greater injury to his children than by leaving them fortunes, which they would probably run through in a few years, and then become worthless and helpless. He gave freely according to his means, and never speculated. These are the sentiments of a philosopher, not of an eccentric, although perhaps regarded as such by the world. During sixty years of his life, he was a hard student, his reading was immense, and as various as extensive. His writings, in prose and verse, for the greater part, published in newspapers and pamphlets, if collected, would fill many volumes. His life and opinions, if fully written, would be a valuable acquisition to American literature. His days were spent in labour and study, and in the education of his children; but in the evenings, he delighted to unbend, and then strangers or neighbours, who dropt in without ceremony, were entertained with his admirable conversation, in which he so greatly excelled; sometimes witty and gay,

sometimes eloquent; at other times throwing a brilliant light on every topic introduced, and exhibiting those colloquial talents, which may be regarded as the highest gift of genius, while they leave a regret, that so many diamond sparks should glitter for a moment, and then be cast away for ever.

Such was Hugh Henry Brackenridge, a man but imperfectly appreciated in his own day, because, like others of an original cast of intellect, he was ahead of the age; but whose fame is destined to increase, as it becomes more removed from the times in which he lived.

THE END.

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